

Some pages of this thesis may have been removed for copyright restrictions.

If you have discovered material in AURA which is unlawful e.g. breaches copyright, (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please read our [Takedown Policy](#) and [contact the service](#) immediately

LEISURE AT WORK IN BRITAIN, WEST GERMANY, FRANCE AND JAPAN

A Cross-Cultural Comparative Study

JENNIFER FELL

Doctor of Philosophy

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

July 1990

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the thesis and no information derived from it may be published without the author's prior, written consent.

The University of Aston in Birmingham

Leisure at Work in Britain, West Germany, France and Japan

A Cross-Cultural Comparative Study

Jennifer Fell

Doctor of Philosophy

July 1990

Summary

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the impact of changing values and attitudes toward work and the workplace in Britain, West Germany, France and Japan. A cross-national approach was adopted in order to gain a better understanding of differences and similarities in behaviour and to identify aspects specific to each society.

Although the relationship between work and leisure has been thoroughly examined and there is a growing body of literature on changes in the values associated with these two phenomena, little research has been carried out into leisure at work. Studies of work time have tended to consider it as a homogeneous block, whereas recent research suggests that more attention should be devoted to unravelling the multiple uses of time at the workplace. The present study sought to review and analyse this new approach to the study of work time, and special attention is devoted to an examination of definitions of leisure, recreation, free time and work within the context of the workplace.

The cross-cultural comparative approach gave rise to several problems due to the number of countries involved and the unusual combination of factors being investigated. The main difficulties were differences in the amount and quality of literature available, the non-comparability of existing data, definitions of concepts and socio-linguistic terms, and problems over access to organizations for fieldwork. Much of the literature generalizes about patterns of behaviour and few authors isolate factors specific to particular societies. In this thesis new empirical work is therefore used to ascertain the extent to which generalizations can be made from the literature and characteristics peculiar to each of the four countries identified. White-collar employees in large, broadly comparable companies were studied using identical questionnaires in the appropriate language. Respondents selected were men and women, aged between 20-65 years and either managers or non-managers. Patterns of leisure at work were found to be broadly similar in the national contexts, but with the Japanese and the West Germans experiencing the least leisure at work, and the British and the French perceiving the most.

The general trend seems to be toward convergence of attitudes regarding leisure at work in the four countries. Explanations for variations in practice were sought within the wider societal contexts of each country.

Key words: leisure leisure at work cross-cultural comparisons
 free time recreation

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My grateful thanks go to the University of Aston in Birmingham, and the Department of Modern Languages in particular, under the headship of Professor Frank Knowles; my supervisor, Professor Linda Hantrais, who has given invaluable support and assistance throughout the research period; Mr Ted Roe for advice and help during the last three years; Mr Iain Liddell, Computer Services, the University of Warwick; Mrs Megumi Nakabayashi for translating the Japanese questionnaire.

LEISURE AT WORK IN BRITAIN, WEST GERMANY, FRANCE AND JAPAN

A Cross-Cultural Comparative Study

List of Tables	7
INTRODUCTION	8
The study of leisure at work	8
Cross-cultural studies of leisure at work	11
Approach to the research	16
PART 1 LITERATURE REVIEW	20
CHAPTER 1 LEISURE AT WORK FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	20
Integration of leisure and work in pre-industrial society	20
Separation of leisure and work during industrial times	24
Leisure in post-industrial society	32
The relationship between work and leisure in Britain	37
The relationship between work and leisure in West Germany	39
The relationship between work and leisure in France	40
The relationship between work and leisure in Japan	42
Toward a merging of leisure and work	44
CHAPTER 2 DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS	47
Dictionary definitions	47
Work time	47
Leisure and free time	49
Recreation	50
Sociologists' definitions of leisure and free time	52
Leisure/work dichotomy	52
Definitions of leisure in Britain	53
Definitions of leisure in West Germany	54
Definitions of leisure France	58
Definitions of leisure in Japan	60
Definitions of recreation	62
Intrinsic satisfactions of leisure	64
Intrinsic satisfactions of leisure in Britain	66
Intrinsic satisfactions of leisure in West Germany	67
Intrinsic satisfactions of leisure in France and Japan	69
From separation to integration of leisure and work	69

CHAPTER 3	CHANGING LEISURE AND WORK VALUES: THEORY AND PRACTICE	72
Leisure values in work		72
Leisure value systems in Britain		72
Leisure value systems in West Germany		75
Leisure value systems in France		77
Leisure value systems in Japan		81
Convergence or divergence in the four countries		94
Comparison of work time and free time practices in the four countries		95
Recreation activities at work		101
Recreation activities at work in Britain		102
Recreation activities at work in West Germany		104
Recreation activities at work in France		105
Recreation activities at work in Japan		106
Attitudes toward recreation at work		107
CHAPTER 4	LEISURE AT WORK	110
Qualities of leisure in work		110
Qualities of leisure in work in Britain		115
Qualities of leisure in work in West Germany		120
Qualities of leisure in work in France		123
Qualities of leisure in work in Japan		124
The benefits of leisure in work		130
Toward integration of leisure and work		132
Merging of leisure and work in Britain		132
Merging of leisure and work in West Germany		137
Merging of leisure and work in France		138
Merging of leisure and work in Japan		140
Leisure at work as a reality		143
CHAPTER 5	SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES AFFECTING LEISURE AT WORK	147
Gender		147
Age		155
Socio-occupational status		157
Socio-economic variables and leisure at work		164
CONCLUSION TO PART 1		165

PART 2 METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS	172
CHAPTER 6 RESEARCH METHOD	172
Cross-cultural issues	172
Methodology	174
Selection of the respondents	177
The British respondents	180
The West German respondents	181
The French respondents	181
The Japanese respondents	182
Characteristics of the respondents	183
Income of the respondents	184
CHAPTER 7 WORK TIME AND RECREATION AT WORK	187
Work patterns	187
Overtime hours	189
Flexibility of working hours	193
Time spent away from home on workdays	195
Starting and finishing times of work	197
Actual and preferred work patterns	202
Similarities and differences in work patterns	204
Recreation and leisure activities at work	206
Activities in a work lull	206
Preferred recreation and leisure activities at work	212
Location of recreation and leisure activities at work	216
Time spent on recreation and leisure at work	220
Respondents' interest in recreation and leisure at work	222
CHAPTER 8 ATTITUDES TOWARD LEISURE AT WORK	223
Leisure at work	223
Comparing the home and the workplace	223
Preferred workplace	231
Disadvantages of work outside the home	239
Sociability at work	251
Advantages of going out to work	251
Satisfaction with leisure at work	254
CONCLUSION	260
The cross-cultural study of leisure at work	260
The relationship between work and leisure and leisure at work	263
Values attributed to leisure at work	267
Convergence and divergence	270
Future areas of study	271
Bibliography	275
Appendices	286

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	1981: Yearly working hours	97
Table 3.2	1985: Working hours per year in the manufacturing sector (excluding overtime and absenteeism)	98
Table 3.3	1985: Working hours per week for the manufacturing sector in various countries	98
Table 6.1	The British respondents	180
Table 6.2	The West German respondents	181
Table 6.3	The French respondents	182
Table 6.4	The Japanese respondents	183
Table 6.5	The respondents according to the variables of gender, age and position	183
Table 6.6	Salary levels per annum (1986-87)	185
Table 7.1	Work more than 40 hours per week	188
Table 7.2	Overtime hours per week	190
Table 7.3	Paid for overtime	192
Table 7.4	Flexibility of working hours	194
Table 7.5	Time spent away from home	196
Table 7.6	Time start and finish work	198
Table 7.7	Time for lunchbreak	200
Table 7.8	Lunchtime opinion	201
Table 7.9	Typical workday	202
Table 7.10	Preferred work pattern	204
Table 7.11	Chat in a work lull	207
Table 7.12	Break in a work lull	209
Table 7.13	Choose other work in a work lull	210
Table 7.14	Preferred leisure activity at work	214
Table 7.15	Place for leisure at work	217
Table 7.16	Time spent on leisure compared with work in a work lull	219
Table 7.17	Time spent daily on leisure at work	221
Table 8.1	Feel 'at home' at work	224
Table 8.2	Happier at home than at work	227
Table 8.3	Happier at work than at home	229
Table 8.4	Preferred workplace: away from home	231
Table 8.5	Preferred workplace: at home	235
Table 8.6	Disadvantages of going out to work	240
Table 8.7	Want a shorter commuting time	243
Table 8.8	Want shorter working hours	244
Table 8.9	Breaks wanted in the workday	245
Table 8.10	Want less supervision at work	247
Table 8.11	Want to take more decisions at work	247
Table 8.12	Want to have more choice in hours worked	248
Table 8.13	Want more choice in work activities	249
Table 8.14	Work to enjoy free time	250
Table 8.15	Main advantages of going out to work	252
Table 8.16	Meeting people at work is important	253
Table 8.17	Amount of socializing wanted at work	255
Table 8.18	Want a friendlier workplace	257
Table 8.19	Want fewer interruptions at work	259
Figure 4.1	Two-dimensional time and activity scheme	133

INTRODUCTION

The study of leisure at work

Leisure is a much studied phenomenon in Western industrialized societies and the amount of research in this area has been increasing rapidly over the past few decades. In Western countries, from the turn of the century until the late 1960s, leisure was studied only as a phenomenon to be contrasted with work. Leisure was generally viewed in relation to work, as an adjunct of it, and as something left over after work was completed (Parker, 1976:11; Smith, 1978). It was deemed necessary to have work in order to be 'freed' from it to have leisure. According to this concept, however, those who were not employed, for example, housewives, retired people, the disabled and the unemployed, could have no leisure (Deem, 1985). Attempts have been made in some studies to explain leisure behaviour using different social variables such as gender, age, status and family background, and to measure the time spent on certain activities (for example, K. Roberts, 1978, in the British context, Dumazedier, 1974, in the French context, Schaginger, 1974, and Rudinger, 1974, in the West German context, and Linhart, 1976, and Nishino and Takahashi, 1989, in the Japanese context).

During the last thirty years, under the influence of researchers such as Dumazedier (1967; 1974), the main exponent of the sociology of leisure in France, leisure has come to be considered as a subject worthy of study in its own right and is defined without work being the necessary counterpart or prerequisite. One of the leading leisure sociologists in Britain, Parker, asserted in the early 1970s that studies could be carried out with leisure as the starting point, that the features of leisure should be examined in detail and that they could be incorporated

into other areas of life:

Instead of starting with concepts such as the 'productive orientation' or 'shared responsibilities', which stem mainly from work, we can inquire what is the optimum role of leisure in life and society and then seek to integrate this with other spheres, including work. (Parker, 1973:81).

Parker foresaw a distinctively new way of looking at the relationship between leisure and work where their integration would involve more than just inserting a small amount of leisure-like activity into the workday. He recommended that the whole pattern of daily activities ought to be revised and renewed (Parker, 1973:81).

Whilst appearing to represent a return to using work as the starting point for the study of leisure, leisure at work can now be examined with the benefits of previous bodies of theory from a range of disciplines. Leisure, moreover, not work, is used as the basis for this analysis of leisure at work.

Since leisure at work is a relatively understudied phenomenon, it is useful - and necessary - to examine the way in which different bodies of theory can provide a framework for this approach to the study of leisure.

The growing recognition of the impact of leisure on all areas of life, including work, is illustrated by evidence that for many people in the developed world, leisure is more important than work and is central to their lives. Kenneth Roberts, for example, one of the leading British leisure sociologists, has referred to Nels Anderson's argument that 'it is leisure that imparts meaning to work for the bulk of the population' (Roberts, 1981:67). Sociologists frequently argue that leisure affects the use of social time and that it ought to have a greater influence on work (for example, Argyle, 1974:261, in Britain; Samuel, 1983, in France).

There is, moreover, increasing acceptance in industrialized societies that leisure can occur anywhere and at any time, including at work, and a number of leisure sociologists have expressed the view that work itself can, given suitable conditions, be a leisure experience (for example, Csikszentmihalyi, 1975).

A better understanding of leisure at work and its effects on work might be expected to help to bring about changes which would allow work to be enjoyed by a greater number of people. Parker (1971) has suggested that knowledge about patterns of behaviour and attitudes toward leisure may be of interest not only to providers and consumers but also:

In the realm of leisure, sociologists can obtain and convey to both the consumers and the providers of leisure goods and services information concerning the needs of people in various situations and the factors which have combined to produce these needs. (Parker, 1971:137).

Applied to leisure at work, it could be argued that research on the phenomenon may also be used to inform debates about future work organization practices and therefore contribute to policy-making.

The theme of leisure at work is broad and has multitudinous facets. Whether and how often leisure is experienced at work may depend on many variables such as education, training, company, profession, branch of work, location of work and home, location of home in relation to the workplace, number and type of colleagues, work environment, salary, age, sex, marital status, personality, ambition, facilities at or near work, number of hours worked, how much the work is enjoyed, freedom at work and whether work is at home or at a workplace away from home. Analysis of the phenomenon of leisure at work therefore requires an approach which cuts across and links together concepts and data derived from a number of disciplines.

Cross-cultural studies of leisure at work

The present study examines similarities and differences in patterns of leisure at work and the influence of leisure values on work, not only with reference to several of the variables listed above but also in relation to different national and cultural contexts. The value of carrying out cross-cultural research rather than conducting a one-nation study, is that, according to Hantrais et al, comparisons may enable researchers to identify aspects specific to particular societies, leading to a better understanding of problems within them (Hantrais et al, 1985:vii). Cross-cultural comparative research helps sociologists to enlarge 'insight and knowledge through enlightenment' and to reveal 'alternative options in the arrangements of society and in the ways of approaching and explaining social phenomena' (Hantrais et al, 1985:vii).

Mouer and Sugimoto (1986), American and Japanese sociologists respectively, have emphasized the importance of carrying out cross-national research and have suggested that it promotes greater understanding of different cultures:

The images which people have of their own society often serve as tinted lenses through which other societies are perceived. Conversely, the images people have of other societies also serve as a looking-glass against which their own society is examined. (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986:405).

Few comparative studies, other than those carried out in the USA, include Japan. Mouer and Sugimoto have argued that more cross-cultural research is necessary, since:

For persons to be informed citizens in the late twentieth century, to make intelligent choices and to take a responsible political role in their own society, it is imperative that they know something about other societies. (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986:417).

Their grounds for focusing on the importance of studying Japan are that:

Japan's experience has a great, though often differing, significance for many around the world. As the only non-Western society to industrialize fully, Japanese society has often been considered as a critical case in the study of industrialization. Many in the Third World scrutinize the Japanese experience for a possible model. Japan has changed tremendously over the past two or three decades and, whatever the causes, it is clear that Japanese businessmen are better informed about their industries and products than ever before. For foreign businessmen to compete in Japan, the old stereotypes will no longer do. They must have a certain proficiency in the Japanese language in order to tap the wealth of information being created within Japanese society. They must realize that even the language is quite situational. Surely it is time to see beyond the Japanese and to examine the sources of variation within Japan, now a society of well over one hundred million individuals who belong to many different types of often competing groups. (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986:17).

Insufficient data on a topic in particular countries might contribute to a reluctance of researchers to carry out cross-cultural research on those societies. This could be one of the reasons for the lack of comparative research which includes Japan in particular. As Hantrais et al have pointed out: 'A common problem is the availability of equally good data from all nations. The pragmatic solution is to include only countries for which adequate data are available' (Hantrais et al, 1985:ix).

Disparate amounts of knowledge on a phenomenon, combined with different approaches to the subject in national contexts, can lead to incorrect assumptions when comparing the patterns in several countries. For instance, existing literature may seem to suggest that a particular feature of leisure at work is more important in one country than another. Differences in the type of research may also influence, or in turn be affected by attitudes toward the concepts of leisure and work.

By examining the phenomenon of leisure at work comparatively in this thesis, an attempt is made to gain a better understanding of the ways in which it is used by employers and workers in different societal contexts

and to unravel some of the problems associated with the complexities of time use in daily life.

The amount of information on leisure at work differs from one country to another and it is thus difficult to identify patterns accurately. A universal feature of the literature on leisure at work is, indeed, its scarcity. As there are few studies which compare changing attitudes toward leisure and work, particularly across national boundaries, aspects of leisure, work and leisure at work are examined in the present research using literature which was not written from a comparative perspective.

Although some of the available literature on leisure at work emanates from the USA, in order to maintain manageable proportions, this country was not selected for detailed analysis in this study. Research comparing social phenomena in the USA and Japan is, however, drawn upon to support points made and clarify concepts in general, as these are more plentiful than comparisons of Japan and West European societies. Reference is also made to investigations into leisure from other countries. Furthermore, research carried out since the date of the fieldwork for this thesis, that is, 1988, has been used, where appropriate, to clarify further some of the points made.

Britain, The Federal Republic of Germany, France and Japan were selected for study in this thesis. The three West European societies were chosen for the comparisons for a number of personal and academic reasons. On the personal level, the four countries were already well known to the author and easily accessible by her. During the research period, France and West Germany were visited to make or re-establish contacts at research institutions and companies, collect material and carry out fieldwork. Japan was not visited again during the research period, but

contacts made and knowledge gained by the author on a previous long stay during the planning phase of the research made it possible to include this country. There was thus an opportunity to compare leisure at work in three West European countries and one of the most advanced Far Eastern societies.

From an academic point of view the choice of these four countries is justified by both similarities and differences in the amount of interest shown in the phenomena of leisure and leisure at work. According to the French sociologists, Boulin et al, research on work and leisure is well developed in Britain, West Germany and France 'from the viewpoints of sociology, economics and philosophy' (Boulin et al, 1982:3). In France, in particular, the study of leisure in relation to work is well established and there is 'a strong tradition of research into matters affecting the structuring of social space' (Boulin et al, 1982:8).

However, research in different countries has not adopted the same approach. Studies in Britain, for example, according to the same authors, 'have related largely to behaviour and the degree of participation in this or that activity, and leisure-based industries have played a major part in stimulating and financing it' (Boulin et al, 1982:7). Consequently, many studies of leisure focus on activities, and, as Glyptis (1989) has stated: 'Attitudes toward work and leisure are less easily examined than activities' (Glyptis, 1989:15). It is only recently that more conceptual, theoretical and methodological study of leisure has taken place in Britain (Boulin et al, 1982:7).

Although the study of leisure is well established in France and Britain, leisure research 'plays only a minor role in Western Germany' (Tokarski, 1983:493). Scheuch, one of the main exponents of a sociology of leisure

in West Germany, has shown that the empirical study of leisure and the social use of time began relatively late in West Germany (for example, Scheuch, 1969:745). The high value placed on work in West Germany may be one cause of the dearth of research on leisure (Tokarski, 1983).

In Japan, leisure is exceptional in the 'lack of attention it has received' since World War II (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989:11). The seemingly smaller quantity and lower quality of leisure research in Japan suggests that this is an interesting area for future research.

Britain, West Germany and France have been examined in a number of comparative studies on different aspects of society, whereas Japan, the fourth country in the study, tends to have been omitted from such research. As this country's role in world affairs becomes more influential, it is expected to command greater importance in comparative work, as suggested in the previous section (for example, Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986). Not only is there little comparative research on leisure which includes Japan, but that which does, like most of the research on leisure, pays scant attention to leisure at work. Research specifically on leisure at work is, in any case, mostly about one country and rarely makes cross-cultural references.

The number of studies on leisure at work in West Germany is small, and negligible in Japan. Many of the studies from France, Britain and America which refer to the influence of leisure on work, tend to be theoretical and prophetic rather than empirical surveys of current situations. There appears to be no definitive account of leisure at work, nor does it seem to have been studied in depth in any country.

Some writers stress that in Japan, the development of leisure and research on the phenomenon is an area where the country still lags behind other industrialized societies, with the former perhaps needing to learn from the latter in this case. It has been suggested, for example, that there is a greater need for the Japanese than for West Europeans to learn how to use leisure time constructively (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989). An important reason for including Japan in the present study was because of the interest it has shown in the models put forward in West European countries.

Despite the lack of material on leisure at work, cross-cultural comparative research on the phenomenon can now benefit from previous approaches to the theory of leisure. A multi-disciplinary investigation of sociological, psychological and cross-cultural research in the study could therefore be expected to contribute to an understanding of how the different bodies of theory relate to one another.

Approach to the research

In order to ensure that the research remained within tractable limits, it was necessary in reviewing the literature to restrict the survey to sociological issues relevant to the subject. For the same reasons, the subsequent fieldwork was carried out using respondents with broadly similar socio-occupational status.

The research was conducted in three phases. In the first phase material was collected on work and leisure and on changing values and attitudes toward these phenomena in three West European countries and Japan. It was followed by a postal survey using a questionnaire constructed to enable data to be compiled on patterns of leisure at work in the four

countries. This method was used rather than direct observation of employees as limited resources precluded the latter. During the third phase, the data were analysed and the findings used to elucidate hypotheses derived from the themes drawn from the literature review.

The first part of the thesis examines documented trends in leisure at work, particularly those enabling isolation and clarification of social factors which underlie patterns of leisure at work. This analysis served as a basis for examining definitions of leisure at work and helped to identify differences and similarities in behaviour and attitudes, as well as gaps in the research and topics requiring further investigation.

In order to come to a better understanding of the relative importance of leisure and leisure at work during different periods, the literature review begins by documenting in Chapter 1 the study of leisure from a historical perspective. Definitions of work time, leisure, free time and recreation are examined in Chapter 2 in an attempt to define leisure at work, and also to demonstrate how leisure may occur at work. This is followed in Chapter 3 by an examination of the effects of changing work and leisure values on the actual practice of work and leisure at work in each of the countries.

Chapter 4 first shows how the qualities of leisure impinge on, and therefore affect, work and then illustrates the increasing tendency for the dividing line between work and leisure to be blurred in the four countries. In Chapter 5 leisure at work is examined with reference to the social variables of gender, age and socio-occupational status.

Comparative analysis of the available literature points to the relative importance attached to the study of leisure in each country and

differences in approaches to it. Using this body of material as a basis, the thesis seeks to identify patterns of leisure at work in the national contexts, although success in doing so is inevitably affected by differing amounts and quality of information in each country. Two broad areas for investigation of leisure at work are identified; recreation activities, time spent on them and attitudes toward them, and leisure at work, which is distinguished in the thesis from recreation by certain features.

In the second part of the thesis, the research method, results of the survey, analysis and conclusions are recorded. The survey, which is described in Chapter 6, was designed to discover the patterns of leisure at work enjoyed by employees in comparable work situations, and their attitudes toward them. The questionnaires were devised to elicit information on the work patterns of the respondents, recreation activities carried out and the amount of time spent on them, and patterns of and attitudes toward freedom, autonomy and sociability at work.

All responses were analysed using SPSS PC+. The analysis in Chapter 7 demonstrates how patterns of work time influence leisure at work. Examples of recreation activities at work are then given. Finally, in Chapter 8, attitudes toward leisure at work in the four countries are analysed. The entire analysis was conducted using the country specific data derived from the survey carried out for the purpose of this thesis. Many other studies on leisure at work do not refer specifically or consistently to social variables. The analysis in the present study, however, was carried out using the three main social variables identified in the literature review and selected in order to demonstrate how different sections of society perceive leisure at work.

The literature was used in an attempt to draw out generalizations about societal factors which influence attitudes toward and experience of leisure at work in the four countries. Particular attention was paid to evidence of divergence or convergence between the West European countries and Japan, and amongst the West European countries themselves. The empirical work enabled some conclusions to be drawn about the degree to which similar trends or disparities can be identified in the four countries being studied.

PART 1 LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER 1 LEISURE AT WORK FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The study of the relationship between leisure and work in a historical perspective is first examined in order to identify trends and changes in attitudes toward the phenomenon in different periods. The chapter begins with a review of leisure and work in pre-industrial society, since the concept of leisure at work seems to have a historical precedent. Much of the literature reviewed in this section was written in the 1970s, when the theory of leisure was very closely associated with work, and most of the authors referred to in the first section were not writing from a culture-specific standpoint. Rather pre-industrial society is depicted as a single unit of observation.

The second section of the chapter describes how time for leisure and work became more clearcut during and after industrialization. The problems associated with the growing division between work and leisure are well documented, but it also has positive aspects in that it has enabled characteristics peculiar to leisure to be identified. These can now be examined not only with reference to 'free time' but also within the context of work and with reference to individual national contexts. In the last section of this chapter, features of leisure and work in post-industrial society are examined.

Integration of leisure and work in pre-industrial society

A distinction between leisure time and work time does not seem to have been made in pre-industrial society. The dividing line between them was probably blurred for the majority of workers. This is not to imply that individuals were unaware of when they were at work or leisure, but that

the time allocated to each phenomenon was not so distinct then as it is today.

The merging of work and leisure was a feature of ancient Greek civilization, when, as Roberts pointed out, the concept of leisure:

referred to a balanced way of life which included enjoyment and self-fulfilment but also encompassed work, political activity and religious observance. The idea of valuing activities in themselves simply because they produced amusement would have been foreign to the Greeks' basic approach to life.
(Roberts, K., 1970:87).

According to Roberts, 'in Greek civilization the citizens had no concept of leisure such as the one that we are familiar with today', leisure experiences were interspersed with other aspects of life and there were no organizations briefed to provide 'separate' fun and recreation (Roberts, K., 1970:87). Roberts has claimed that this merging continued for years and that it was only at the turn of the present century that leisure began to be 'valued for its own sake' (Roberts, K., 1970:88). Indeed, 'the existence of leisure as a separate part of people's lives, catered for by its own social institutions, was virtually unknown before the twentieth century' (Roberts, K., 1970:89).

A number of sociologists have drawn attention to the fact that in pre-industrial societies, work and non-work were intermeshed. Parker, for example, without referring to any particular country, has observed that:

Life in primitive societies follows a predetermined pattern in which work and non-work are inextricably confused...Though there are things done for enjoyment and recreation, the idea of time being set aside for this purpose is unfamiliar.
(Parker, 1971:39).

The sociologist, Anderson, who is now based in America, has asserted that people in pre-industrial society did not sell their time for wages and had no conception of leisure as a particular way of using time, nor of

time not worked as being time wasted (Anderson, 1974:40). Further: 'Among peasants, whose cultural level was higher than in primitive societies, there was also a blending of work and non-work activities' (Anderson, 1974:41). Similarly, Heneman, in America, has observed that in such cultures, there was 'no sharp distinction between work and non-work' (Heneman, 1973:23). For Argyle, who has written extensively on the psychology of leisure in Britain, prior to industrialization, work was integrally linked with all aspects of life and was not distinct from leisure:

work was part of a collective task, performed as a duty to others, there was pride in craftsmanship and it was accompanied by religious ritual, music and story-telling, and the enjoyment of social relationships.
(Argyle, 1974:16).

According to Argyle (1974) and Dahlkvist (1985), a Swedish sociologist, people worked mostly at home, or in the fields nearby, enjoying at the same time social relationships and other leisure-like activities. The pattern most commonly referred to seems to be one where work was interspersed with recreational activities, with work and recreation or leisure occurring alternately; a period of work, followed by recreation, then work again and so on. Times for work and leisure, and/or recreation, thus appear to have been intertwined.

Argyle has gone so far as to argue that the character of work should be changed to incorporate more of the properties of leisure in order to provide maximum satisfaction, as was once the case. The pre-industrial era is an example of a period when leisure and work were merged, to a certain extent, and this is supported by Argyle's claim that: 'In primitive and medieval village communities there was little distinction between work and leisure; work was intermingled with social, religious and other activities and met a variety of needs' (Argyle, 1974:261).

Parker reinforced this argument: 'In pre-industrial society work was part and parcel of everyday life and leisure was not a separate section of the day' (Parker, 1976:24).

The apparent 'pleasure' of work for some people in pre-industrial times has been referred to by the American behavioural scientist, Csikszentmihalyi. He has claimed that 'the monopoly of material goals' was reduced by a wider range of incentives and 'men seemed to enjoy thoroughly what they had to do to make a living' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:4).

Whilst recognizing that work for most people in pre-industrialized society 'was a constant struggle for survival', Smith, a British sociologist, has emphasized that there were no 'sharp distinctions between work, leisure and family life' (Smith, 1978:19). In spite of, or perhaps because of the blending of work and leisure activities, leisure did not feature prominently in most people's lives in pre-industrial society.

More recently, other authors, for example, Cunningham, a British historian, have highlighted the difference between the merging of leisure time and work time, and of leisure and work as concepts:

except in primitive societies, people have always been aware of a separation between work and leisure, and have put a high value on leisure. Leisure itself, a harvest celebration, for example, may have been inextricably bound up with work, but to pretend that participants were unaware when they were working and when they were not is sheer romanticism.
(Cunningham, 1980:57).

According to Veal, a British leisure sociologist, lives of 'unremitting toil' were eased only by combinations of peaceful times, 'good harvests and benevolent rulers' (Veal, 1987:1), a view supported by Bailey, a Canadian sociologist (1989:108). Thus, the tenet that leisure and work

were mingled in pre-industrial society does not mean that work was necessarily 'enjoyable' compared with today or that leisure and work occurred consecutively or simultaneously. The point about leisure and work being merged merely serves to show that a strong dividing line between them, or, more accurately, between the times when and places where they occur, is not an immutable fact.

One of the reasons for the lack of distinction between leisure time and work time was thought to be that most work was done at home, so that all other aspects of life, family, leisure, social life and so on, tended to encroach on work and vice versa. Dahlkvist has maintained that before industrialization, 'work was done in the realms of the "household"' (Dahlkvist, 1985:105). He claimed that social observers in the 17th century did 'not see any distinction between "the family" and "the enterprise"; consequently, they do not have any concept for independent wage-labour either' (Dahlkvist, 1985:105). There must therefore have been little conscious recognition of a separation between free time and work time in the home environment.

People thus appear to have had more, or perhaps a different kind of freedom with regard to work than they had during and after the period of industrialization (Parker, 1971; Dahlkvist, 1985). It is not clear how much leisure was enjoyed at work, nor whether the sense of freedom was a contributory factor in the cause or effect of leisure at work.

Separation of leisure and work during industrial times

With the onset of industrialization, leisure time and work time became separated as work was removed from the home, a process which is examined in this section. Leisure and the family, according to some researchers,

were subordinated to work. Indeed, negative aspects of leisure were emphasized, and sociologists and historians became aware of leisure as a 'problem'. This thinking is perhaps at the root of the assumption that leisure is a social problem which needs solving. It is evidenced by the belief of some sociologists, that, for example, leisure cannot make up for or compensate for certain features lacking in much of modern work.

During the period of industrialization, as Dahlkvist has illustrated, the household began to dissolve and the ties between 'masters' and 'servants' were replaced by the more antagonistic and less personalized relationship of 'owners' and 'workers' (Dahlkvist, 1985:105). Family life changed as members left the home to 'go out to work' and thus family (home life) and work life became two separate spheres (Dahlkvist, 1985:105). According to Bailey: 'Large scale industrial production in the big city brought a repatterning of time and space, eroding the grip of custom and community and compartmentalizing and extending leisure' (Bailey, 1989:108).

Before industrialization there were, according to Mills, the American sociologist, also writing in the early 1970s, two main philosophies of work. The first, Protestantism, is where people worked to gain 'a religious status' and to assure themselves of 'being among the elect'. Further, 'If work is compulsive it is due to the painful guilt that arises when one does not work' (Mills, 1973:9). The second philosophy was the Renaissance view, which saw work as having intrinsic qualities and satisfactions in itself and no 'ulterior' motive and where 'the technical processes themselves are gratifying' (Mills, 1973:9).

According to the same author, neither of these views are relevant to the 'modern' situation, but for most employees, work simply has a 'generally unpleasant quality' (Mills, 1973:9).

The Protestant work ethic seems to have contributed to the development of a perception of leisure amongst workers as being something which is 'not good'. Anderson, for example, has maintained that rather than being recognized as 'a gift from industry', leisure was seen as 'an unwholesome child born of the devil' (Anderson, 1974:40). The Protestant ethic glorified or 'ennobled' work, and, according to it, work was viewed as 'the way to salvation'. Leisure came to be seen merely as a means to restore energies to be able to work again, 'though spare-time activities could acquire value if used to restore men for work' (Parker, 1976:25). According to Anderson: 'For leisure there was but one proper use, to rest when weary, the better to work after it' (Anderson, 1974:45). This perception of leisure was reinforced by social inequalities pertaining to leisure and work. Work came to be viewed as the lot of the masses, whereas leisure was the 'lot of the elite' (Parker, 1971:41-42).

Much of the literature tends to refer, furthermore, to the negative aspects of leisure, rather than to the possibility that there may need be no separation between leisure time and work time and therefore that leisure can occur at work. At the turn of the century, the attention given to leisure was negative and reformist and the phenomenon was seen to be harmful and unwelcome (for example, Anderson, 1974:40).

A logical development from this conception of leisure is for it to be seen as wasting time and money and encouraging people to want to work less and have more leisure, as Anderson has claimed:

there are those who say that leisure is but a new invitation to waste time... Time and money are being wasted on golf, motor boats, racing cars, going on picnics, all of which require higher wages to buy more things, and less work to have more leisure.
(Anderson, 1974:57).

Such activities are 'a threat to work', as leisure increases the 'aversion to the work men live by' (Anderson, 1974:57).

When work was moved increasingly from the home to a central workplace during industrialization, it seems that the interspersed leisure was not. Instead, leisure appears to have been concentrated into the time spent free from work. This could be a contributory factor to the view that work occurred in a remote workplace, and leisure took place outside work. The separation of work and leisure led to a parcelling of time into 'work time' and 'free time', with leisure being enjoyed during free time. An apparent consequence of this development is that studies have tended to depict work time as a homogeneous block. In turn, this could have been instrumental in the establishment of a clear dividing line between work and leisure time, leading to a conception of work time which includes no leisure.

The removal of elements of leisure from work during industrialization seems to have had less to do with eliminating leisure activities or recreation than with attempts to increase productivity during paid work time. Such changes may have contributed to a reduction of freedom and autonomy at work with a resultant diminishing of positive feelings about work. Compared with pre-industrial times where leisure and work were more likely to exist in juxtaposition, workers in industrial times may have begun to attach disproportionately high value to leisure precisely because of a negative image that came to be associated with work and because of the absence of not only leisure at work but also of free time.

According to many sociologists, the dividing line between work and leisure became sharply differentiated during this period. Having once been an integral part of work, leisure appears to have been totally

subordinated to work for the vast majority of the population.

Developments dating from the industrial revolution led to leisure and work being treated as separate entities. Leisure, in the British context, has been described by Bell and Healey as 'a creation of the industrial system' (Bell and Healey, 1973:160). Roberts has maintained that: 'Leisure as it is experienced today is really a product of industrial society' (Roberts, K., 1970:89) and, further, that:

Industrialization has created not only the spare-time and surplus income that is available for discretionary spending: it has also instituted a rhythm of life in which set hours are devoted to work, after which man's time is free.
(Roberts, K., 1970:89).

It is probably only in postwar industrial society that workers have been able to benefit from this division of leisure and work, however. At the time of the changes brought about by the industrial revolution, workers were more intent on ensuring physical survival than on using non-work time for leisure.

Most researchers do indeed allude to the way in which industrialization caused a clear division between leisure and work, with leisure being relegated to a lower position than work in people's priorities. This was achieved due to the need to earn an income, rather than because work was preferred to leisure. Smith (1978), for example, summarized how the division between work on the one hand, and family and leisure on the other, was established in industrialized societies:

Nineteenth century industrialism tended to perpetuate the Greek view of leisure and emphasized the low status attached to manual work. Work and family also became quite separate areas of activity and interest, in a way not experienced before.

The growth of towns, the increasing populations they contained, the mechanisation of work, the growth of quick cheap transport, these contributed to the kind of society in which work and leisure became separate spheres of activity and interests. Most workpeople anyway had little time left over from daily drudgery to indulge in anything

other than compensation for the harshness and precariousness of daily life. The family and leisure became an adjunct of work. (Smith, 1978:20).

Szalai, the Czech sociologist, has asserted that the most commonly used approach to the study of work and leisure, time-budget research, was established during the Industrial Revolution, when the 'proportions of work and leisure in the daily lives of laborers became a matter of considerable public concern in all countries where industrialization was in progress' (Szalai, 1972:6).

The process of industrialization could thus be described as a catalyst in encouraging many workers to leave their previous workplaces, that is their homes, to work in premises owned by employers. Due to the nature of industrial manufacturing, workers' time was bought and they were required to be at the place of work during certain hours. It follows that the main features of leisure, freedom and autonomy, which had been common to some forms of work, were progressively lost or reduced as workers began to perform jobs away from the home. As Argyle has argued, during the Industrial Revolution between 1769 and 1850 in Britain:

Larger numbers of workers were brought together in the same work place, partly because of the need for expensive capital equipment, partly because small-scale production was not economic, partly to improve supervision. (Argyle, 1974:25).

Parker has suggested it was:

possible to argue that leisure never existed for the mass of people as a separate part of life until it was won from their excessively long working hours. On that view, leisure could be regarded as the product of industrial society, and indeed it does seem that the reduction of working hours was accompanied by forms of leisure typical of the social structure and circumstances of the time. (Parker, 1976:24-25).

According to Anderson (1974), as American cities became industrialized, many leisure activities were performed away from the home. He also claimed that leisure was 'noticed' as a phenomenon from about 1900 and

came to be viewed as something which was a problem (Anderson, 1974:40).

Kelly, the prominent American leisure sociologist, has emphasized how leisure is separated from work in the West in the present industrial period. According to him:

leisure seems to be an arena of life that is separate from work. Leisure is part of the nonwork world of family and community roles and expectations, especially for those whose leisure is given a focus by their parental roles and responsibilities.
(Kelly, 1975a:58).

Despite the evidence of separation of work and leisure, some researchers imply that leisure has always been an integral part of work and affects work. The research of Cunningham, for example, indicates that before and during the Industrial Revolution, the majority of employees valued leisure more highly than work:

In the eighteenth century, workers had a high preference for leisure, and for long periods of it. At the eve of the Industrial Revolution workers in every trade and every region had a high preference for leisure as against work, and engrained notions of the customary annual and weekly pattern of work and leisure. The new breed of employers of the Industrial Revolution deplored all these customs - the irregular work patterns, the traditional holidays, the norm of only 10 hours work, together with in many trades habits of drinking and 'larking' on the job.
(Cunningham, 1980:57-8).

For a long time in the field of sociology, leisure, despite its separation and identification, was studied less in comparison with its 'opposite', work. Roberts, for example, has stated that: 'In the past sociologists have tended to treat leisure as a subsidiary sphere of life with a character derived from more pivotal institutions, particularly work' (Roberts, K., 1978:109). Deem (1985), a British leisure sociologist, has asserted that towards the end of the last century and in the early twentieth century, sociologists paid little attention to leisure or unemployment, 'since these were seldom perceived of as

socially important' (Deem, 1985:180). She has claimed that whereas employment has traditionally dominated sociological research, 'leisure and unemployment have received much less attention, with the consequence that both their importance and theoretical development have often been underrated' (Deem, 1985:180).

Although a few researchers have suggested that there was not necessarily separation of leisure and work, the theme has rarely been developed. The issue of separation, rather than merging of leisure and work, or leisure at work, seems to have been more eagerly pursued. In contrast, Deem (1985) has suggested that: 'leisure and work were not separated either at once, or totally, through industrialization for everyone, any more than were home and work' (Deem, 1985:183).

Indeed, it is only in the 1970s and 1980s that leisure has become an important area of study in Western societies, and this is, according to Deem, because social scientists become interested in leisure only when 'there is a sharp rise in unemployment' or when 'insistent demands for more leisure time are made by workers' (Deem, 1985:180). One advantage of people becoming consciously aware of a separation between leisure and work, however, is that they are able to 'think about and experience leisure in a way that was formerly impossible' (Roberts, K., 1970:90).

The literature seems to suggest then that industrialization brought separation of leisure and work, but for low paid workers, leisure may have become non-existent, although there are conflicting views amongst sociologists and historians about the separation, or lack of it, between leisure and work before and during industrialization. Most researchers, however, seem to agree that prior to the Industrial Revolution, leisure time and work time were mingled, and that leisure was therefore not

viewed as a separate entity. More recently, leisure time has become most distinct and feasible for larger numbers of workers.

Cunningham (1980), unlike most other authors on the subject, has argued that leisure has always been highly valued, and that during industrialization, compromises had to be reached between workers and employers because of the influence of leisure. According to this view, it would seem that leisure influenced work and was an important part of work, both before and during the Industrial Revolution, even if only in the initial phases of the latter.

Leisure in post-industrial society

This section examines the ways in which leisure is nowadays influencing work and becoming more integrated with it in societies which have entered the post-industrial era. Many of the authors referred to were not necessarily attempting to be country specific and indeed, they often generalize as if what they have observed or the findings from their research reflect universal trends. An attempt is made in this section, however, to examine bodies of literature which do refer explicitly to the four countries examined in the present study.

During the last three decades, the study of leisure has developed to the extent that, rather than being viewed merely as an adjunct to work, there appears to be a greater awareness that neither the explanation nor existence of leisure depends on work. Indeed, there is considerable evidence amongst sociologists of support for the blurring or disappearance of the dividing line between leisure and work.

Anderson, for example, has claimed that there are some scholars who 'would bring about a remarriage of work and leisure' and who 'feel this

is the natural thing to do; the two have been together so many centuries' (Anderson, 1974:50). Such references do not make clear exactly what is meant by work and leisure, whether time, or activity or anything else. It may be that it is the dividing line between the times for work and leisure which is becoming less clear, while the content of the phenomena in terms of activity may remain divided into 'work' and 'leisure' activities.

With reference to America, Heneman (1973) has claimed that 'Even today, distinctions between work and nonwork are blurred' (Heneman, 1973:23). The American sociologists, Dunnette et al (1973), have also referred to the blurring of work and leisure: 'Is it too much to expect that in the future man's capacity for work will be fully integrated with his capacity for pleasure? Perhaps in the year 2001....the worlds of work and nonwork will have merged' (Dunnette et al, 1973:90-1).

Referring to industrialized societies in general, Neulinger (1981) has alluded to the phenomenon of the integration of leisure and work and the increasing importance of leisure, when he observed that changes at work demanded by employers and employees are concerned with increasing the amount of leisure in work (Neulinger, 1981:126). He claimed that job conditions are 'changing as a result of these demands', and that 'many of these changes introduced are increasing the job's leisure potential' (Neulinger, 1981:129). Workers approaching a post-industrial society are, furthermore, becoming 'more selective about the type of job they choose' and that this indicates 'the greater demands that are placed on conditions prevailing within a given job' (Neulinger, 1981:122). Other authors have shown how merging occurs. In the late 1950s, the American sociologist, Stone, for example, claimed that in America:

more and more we work at our play and we play at our work...our play is disguised by work and vice versa. Consequently, we begin to evaluate our leisure time in terms of the potential it has for work - for us to 'do it ourselves', and we evaluate our work in terms of the potential it has for play.
(Stone, 1958:285).

One of the benefits for sociology of the separation of work time and leisure time during industrialization is that it becomes possible to isolate, identify and thus examine the features of leisure as an independent entity. Roberts has demonstrated that the separation of leisure from work and other social obligations is a realistic starting point for the study of leisure (Roberts, K., 1970:7-8).

Studies of leisure and work before the 1960s tended to treat the phenomena as separate entities. Many authors still imply that leisure happens after or outside work and the quality of leisure is frequently seen in relation to work performed and the quality and quantity of leisure is generally thought to be affected by work (Argyle, 1974:261). Wnuk-Lipinski (1976), a Polish sociologist, has noted that: 'Some sociologists have suggested that the content of leisure is closely related to the content of work; the more complicated is work, the more complicated is the content of leisure and vice versa' (Wnuk-Lipinski, 1976:243).

The fact that work and leisure have become separated, and leisure has apparently been removed from work in recent times, is bemoaned by several authors. In the words of Russell (1935):

There was formerly a capacity for light-heartedness and play which has been to some extent inhibited by the cult of efficiency. The modern man thinks that everything ought to be done for the sake of something else, and never for its own sake.
(Russell, 1935:24).

There has been an overemphasis in research on the effects of work on leisure (Roberts, K., 1970), but it is not difficult to understand why

sociologists started their studies from this stance, since, as was shown in the previous section, 'Historically, leisure is a by-product of industrialism' (Roberts, K., 1970:23). There has thus been a tendency: 'to create a rather distorted picture of the role of leisure in modern society' (Roberts, K., 1970:23). In present times, however, it has been argued that:

for many people leisure has now become such a central and dominant part of their lives that it is their behaviour and attitudes towards work that are determined by their leisure rather than the other way round.
(Roberts, K., 1970:25).

For many people to enjoy leisure, it is necessary to have a job because of the rhythm it provides to life. Without a job, 'participation in normal forms of recreation and social relationships becomes impossible' (Roberts, K., 1970:13).

Another view is that working hours will not be reduced greatly in the future, and people will have to choose between a higher income and more free time. It seems that most people prefer the former (Roberts, K., 1970:21). Roberts' own opinion about the situation in Britain in the early 1970s was that in the future, 'leisure will continue to expand, but slowly and undramatically' (Roberts, K., 1970:21), leading him to conclude that:

The rhythm of life and leisure found in Britain today, is, therefore, likely to persist into the future with just a gradual expansion of the amount of leisure time that people enjoy at the expense of time spent in employment. The basic characteristics of leisure today are likely to continue with only this minor modification during the remainder of the twentieth century.
(Roberts, K., 1970:22).

In spite of a reduction in working hours since the turn of the century, Roberts has pointed out that hours worked in modern industrialized societies were: 'still long when compared with earlier historical epochs.

In medieval times, it does appear that people did less work than they do today' (Roberts, K., 1970:20). Roberts has argued that it should be economically viable for time spent on leisure to resume its 'normal proportions', and:

According to this estimation of future prospects, leisure can be expected to expand to such an extent that, in the not too distant future, the rhythm of life and leisure must change in such ways that the consequences are impossible to predict.
(Roberts, K., 1970:20).

Most studies investigating the relationship between leisure and work tend to be coloured by the assumption that work influences leisure, but now: 'there are strong grounds for arguing that leisure exercises a reciprocal influence upon the nature of people's working lives' (Roberts, K., 1970:35). In the same context, Roberts has suggested that as shorter working hours have evolved and living standards have improved:

it may well be that the influence of work over how people use their leisure has declined, and it is even possible that styles of life, attitudes and interests that are based upon leisure may be exercising an influence upon industry itself.
(Roberts, K., 1970:35).

He therefore concluded that: 'Today the accent is changing to stress the extent to which industry is being permeated by leisure values'
(Roberts, K., 1970:39).

There is increasing evidence to show that the occurrence of leisure at work and the role and effect of leisure on work have become objects of study (see for example, in Britain: Brown et al, 1973, Roberts, J., 1983, Cullen, 1979, Pahl, 1985 and in France: Samuel, 1983, Dumazedier, 1967 etc.). In the early 1970s, Brown et al (1973) illustrated the trend in Britain toward regarding the workplace as a location where leisure can be experienced, claiming that:

Work situations are normally thought of as dominated by rational-bureaucratic or Protestant ethic values. We can see that they are also the site of an alternative, rival system of values including an

emphasis on play, defiance of restriction, leisure-taking and camaraderie.
(Brown et al, 1973:109).

In addition, Smith (1978) reiterated that leisure does not automatically occur during free time, and that it can be enjoyed at work:

Leisure is not just free time - the unemployed and retired have free time, but perhaps not leisure. Neither is leisure just activity - being made to exercise every morning so as to restore physical health, or to play tennis for payment, are very much like work. Neither is leisure just play, and self-fulfilment through play. Much else apart from play offers opportunity for self-actualization and fulfilment - notably work and family life; also work itself offers play-like experiences and contexts.
(Smith, 1978:19).

Rather than attempting to replace work with leisure as a central life interest, Hargreaves (1981), a British sociologist, has recommended there should be fundamental changes in the whole way of thinking about leisure and work and that the terms might be replaced by 'ways of life' or 'life styles' (Hargreaves, 1981:200).

Blurring of the dividing line between leisure and work is currently manifest in some easing of the rigidity in patterns whereby people work at workplaces, have leisure and family life away from the workplace, usually at home, and do so-called work or leisure activities in these places at particular times. Tyrell, also a British sociologist, has noted that in the future people will enjoy more leisure at work and will work more at home (Tyrell, 1982:94).

The relationship between work and leisure in Britain

The authors quoted in the previous section, although their national origins have been identified, were not referring to specific countries. In a study on the history of leisure, however, Jones (1986) has given evidence that leisure took place at work in Britain in the inter-war years, maintaining that: 'leisure was taken in working hours in the form

of conversation, practical jokes, horseplay, extra long breaks and so on' (Jones, 1986:129). He emphasized that such recreation during employment was not enough to stop workers complaining about the constraints of work and that they desired more leisure both in and out of work (Jones, 1986:129; see also Cunningham, 1980). Most British workers wanted no 'superficial division of work and leisure', but 'equal liberty in work and leisure' and 'greater freedom in work and more leisure time' (Jones, 1986:132).

The British leisure sociologist, Glyptis (1989), in a study of leisure and unemployment in Britain, has emphasized that throughout history, work and leisure have not always been 'identifiable as separate domains' and that this is 'not universally so in Western industrialized society today' (Glyptis, 1989:16). Although most people probably do view work and leisure as being separate, for others, 'Work and leisure can be closely integrated, and in a few cases fully fused' (Glyptis, 1989:16). This is because opportunities for deriving satisfaction from meaningful activities exist in both work and leisure. As will be demonstrated later in the present study, types of work or status seem to affect the degree to which the dividing line between leisure and work is blurred in individual perceptions.

Like many other writers, in her study Glyptis referred only briefly to leisure at work and did not focus on it. She has alluded, however, to the potential similarity of work and leisure: 'Whatever the social and institutional forces, much of the fulfilment sought and derived in work and leisure depends on the personality, circumstances and preferences of the individual' (Glyptis, 1989:17).

Glyptis concluded that 'Work and leisure meanings and relationships thus

vary contemporaneously, as well as historically' (Glyptis, 1989:17), and suggested that learning about the blurring of leisure and work might be of use to society, particularly to the unemployed: 'Those people who seek or experience congruence in their leisure and their work might be well equipped to apply their leisure attitudes and activities to the experience of unemployment' (Glyptis, 1989:17). The interdependency of leisure and work is highlighted when she stated that: 'Work and leisure are not just a conceptual couplet, twinned for the convenience of testing theories. They are experienced as a couplet, the one deriving meaning from the other' (Glyptis, 1989:159).

The authors writing about British society quoted in this section, although recognizing that a separation of leisure and work has occurred due to industrialization, emphasize the value of allowing leisure to be experienced at work. Leisure is shown to be important not only for its own sake but also as a positive influence on work and on life in general.

The relationship between work and leisure in West Germany

In West Germany, Funke questioned the assumption that because work hours have decreased, leisure has automatically increased. Instead of having more free time, he suggested that many West Germans do more overtime hours than previously, and/or have second jobs. He was sceptical of the claim that people do now enjoy more free time (Funke, 1974:187-8). The underlying cause of the 'kollektiven Freizeitmythos' (collective leisure myth) is to do with the sharper distinction that has developed between professional and private life (Funke, 1974:188). He alluded to the amount of time 'lost' in journeys to work, leisure activities, shopping, and visiting friends and relatives, and suggested that towns should be organized so as to minimize such 'wasted' time (Funke, 1974:189).

The tendency of a blurring of work and leisure has been seen in West Germany to have produced more work at home, that is, not only paid employment at home, but also non-paid work activities at home. Agricola (1986), the general secretary of the Deutschen Gesellschaft für Freizeit (German Association of Leisure), has claimed that:

Mehr und mehr hat sich ein Gleichgewicht zwischen der Bedeutung von Arbeit und derjenigen von Freizeit herausgebildet. Das führte nicht nur zu einem Anwachsen von vielfältigen Freizeittätigkeiten, sondern auch zu neuen Formen von Arbeit ('Eigenarbeit', Do it yourself, 'Feierabend- und Freizeitarbeit').

Increasingly, the meanings of work and leisure have become more alike. That has not led to a growth in the range of leisure activities but to new forms of work ('self-employment', do-it-yourself, 'evening and free time work'). (Agricola, 1986:10).

Based on the evidence of these West German authors, it seems that there may be a clear dividing line between leisure time and work time in West Germany and that leisure is accorded particularly great importance. Compared with the British situation, there is less of a tendency to pursue the line of thought whereby the distinction between leisure and work is blurred.

The relationship between work and leisure in France

The study of leisure in France is well established due to the work of sociologists such as Dumazedier. According to Boulin et al (1982), however, in a survey of the European literature, 'it is only recently' that the link between the content of work and the content of free time has been studied 'scientifically' in France. They maintained that from the turn of the century until the 1960s, 'no connection was perceived between working time and free time' (Boulin et al, 1982:20), which: 'were thought to have only a quantitative relationship, as though a completely homogeneous time continuum was simply divided into a work component and a leisure component' (Boulin et al, 1982:21).

In France, work has usually been the starting point for the study of leisure, and has been defined in terms of its relationship to work (Dumazedier, 1967). Work has been viewed as affecting leisure, usually in negative ways. For instance, leisure time cannot always be maximized because people are too tired from working. Although leisure is influenced by work, the two phenomena appear to be treated as completely separate entities which cannot encroach on each other. Dumazedier, for example, has stated that 'work creates free time, therefore leisure' (Dumazedier, 1975:58). Work can also have a negative influence on the very free time it creates. As the French sociologist, Duteil (1975), has shown, tiring work is given as one of the reasons by many French people for not doing leisure activities and where working conditions are good, the participation rate in sport, for example, rises (Duteil, 1975:62).

Even in the 1980s, research in France on the relationship between work and leisure still seems mostly to be from the viewpoint of work. The assumption appears to have been made that work influences leisure, little or no mention being made of leisure's influence on work. Dumazedier, for example, claims that 'Longtemps le loisir (ou le temps libre) a été défini seulement par rapport au travail'. (For a long time leisure has been defined only in relation to work) (Dumazedier, 1983:355).

In a study on female workers in Paris by the French industrial sociologist, Linhart (1981), employees are shown to want work to be a contrast to leisure. Work, although unpleasant, is deemed necessary in order to be able to distinguish and appreciate leisure (Linhart, 1981:31). According to this review, the French do not seem to divide work and leisure time as clearly as the West Germans but neither is leisure perceived by the French in work time.

The relationship between work and leisure in Japan

In Japan, a different work ethic from that in the West European countries seems to affect the way in which the relationship between leisure and work is depicted. Although leisure may be increasing in importance in all industrialized societies, attitudes toward it seem to differ where work is regarded differently.

The Western work ethic, often held to be synonymous with the Protestant ethic, which places an obligation on people to work, obviously has religious overtones and denigrates consumption of goods and leisure. In Japan, on the other hand, the 'work-centred ethic' has no religious connotations, but does have similarities with the Western Protestant ethic, in that, for example, people are made to feel guilty when they are not working. Plath, an American sociologist, has emphasized that in Japan: 'leisure and consumption are not inherently evil and the devil does not make work for idle hands' (Plath, 1964:89).

Other writers have argued that leisure was traditionally viewed in Japan in a negative way. Beardsley et al (1968), American anthropologists, have claimed that a majority of Japanese have a negative image of leisure, whereas fewer than half have a positive or neutral view of it. Work is seen as being not only a right but as being obligatory (Beardsley et al, 1968:69).

In Japan, the verb 'to work' is hataraku, which also means 'to function'. According to Dahlkvist, this 'sounds very different from the Christian conceptualization of work as something painful, something related to sweat and hard labor, in order to earn one's bread' (Dahlkvist, 1985:111). He has claimed that the Japanese system of production 'combines identity-oriented and freedom-oriented types of work' and

maintained that in Japanese factories there is a 'high level of identity'. Alienation at work is minimized by employers taking into consideration employees' personalities and private or personal situations (Dahlkvist, 1985:121). The widely publicized benefits of Japanese employees, such as lifetime employment, apply, however, only to a relatively small number of workers. Despite the widespread publicity this form of employment has attracted both abroad and in Japan, only 25-30% of male employees are offered lifetime employment (Dahlkvist, 1985:128).

Misumi (1983) has claimed that in Japan, 'the meaning of working is closely related to the meaning of life' (Misumi, 1983:3). He maintained that the traditional Japanese attitude is different from that in the West, partly because in Japan work has been viewed as part of spiritual life and character cultivation and in the West 'labor is a vengeance and punishment of God', and that it 'differs entirely from the teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism' (Misumi, 1983:4). Similarly, Omura (1983), a Japanese sociologist, has demonstrated that whereas many Westerners think of work as 'toil and moil', Japanese workers 'traditionally thought of working in terms of the pursuit of truth, and this philosophy still lives on in their hearts and minds' (Omura, 1983:I).

In modern history, according to Befu, a sociologist based in America, Japan has been 'attempting to catch up with the West' (Befu, 1980:190). Nishino and Takahashi (1989), Japanese leisure sociologists, indicate that Japan has 'caught up' with the West since World War II in economic, technological, and other terms, and although leisure has been understudied, 'The importance of leisure and recreation has at long last begun to attract the attention of the public, and Japan seems to be just

entering a new, more leisure-oriented era' (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989:11).

The same authors have advocated that more research should be conducted on leisure in Japan in order to 'construct a basis for increasing the quality of life in the coming years' (Nishino and Takashashi, 1989:11). They maintain that the growth of leisure in Japan has largely involved an element of commercialism, such as expenditure on books and magazines on leisure interests, leisure goods and services, domestic and foreign travel and computerized leisure information service systems (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989:12).

Nishino and Takahashi suggest that heed should be taken in Japan about such 'Western' and 'modern' forms of leisure, and hint that they are occurring at the expense of activity which would emphasize 'the spiritual development of the individual - an area receiving little attention in today's crowded, mass-produced society' (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989:14). There are indications that throughout the period of industrialization there has been greater blurring of the concepts of work and leisure in Japan than in Western Europe.

Toward a merging of leisure and work

In the first section in this chapter it was shown that in pre-industrial society, leisure seemed to be an important part of work and that leisure time was integrated with work time. With the onset of industrialization, time for leisure became distinct from that for work. Partly due to this separation, leisure came to be seen as a phenomenon worthy of concern and study.

Of the four countries it seems to be in Britain that the perception, integration and enjoyment of leisure at work is the most developed (Jones, 1986; Cunningham, 1980; Glyptis, 1989). In West Germany, the distinction between work time and leisure time appears to be the least blurred and leisure is taken generally to be synonymous with free time. The French seem to fall somewhere between the two extremes in Britain and West Germany. Due to the strong work ethic in Japan, it may be that leisure at work is not perceived.

In the approach to post-industrial society, it seems that a reintegration of leisure and work is a possibility envisaged by certain observers, an inevitability to some and anathema to others. From the literature reviewed so far it would appear that Britain and France might be the countries most likely to accept and welcome a transfer of leisure values to the workplace. In West Germany, however, where the distinction between work time and leisure time seems more clearly defined than in the other two national contexts, and where there appears to be no desire to weaken the distinction between the two, leisure in work may be less acceptable. The dividing line between work and leisure appears to be weaker in Japan than in the other three countries but leisure may still not be perceived at work in that country because of the strong work ethic.

It has been shown in this section that leisure is now studied in its own right and is not viewed merely as a 'by-product' of work or as a means by which to perform work better. It may be overtaking work in position in some people's value systems. Some authors suggest that leisure is not only influencing work, but features of leisure are, and should be, merging with work. One implication is that work is becoming more like

leisure. Increasingly also, it is recognized that work is a place where leisure can occur. Whilst this may be true for the West European countries, and, to a certain extent, Japan, there appears to be a 'weaker' dividing line between leisure and work in Japan, and it is possible that work is, therefore, perceived as being less alienative and 'unleisure-like' by Japanese than by West European employees.

CHAPTER 2 DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

None of the studies of leisure consulted in the literature review gave definitions of leisure at work. Evidence indicating that leisure occurs at work is available, but sociologists seem to differ from each other in their concepts of leisure at work. In some studies, the phenomenon is referred to as recreation at work, or industrial recreation (for example, Burt, 1983); leisure is also presented as freedom and autonomy (Dumazedier, 1967; 1974); and work itself is attributed the qualities of leisure (Mills, 1973; Csikszentmihalyi, 1975).

The overlapping and sometimes apparent interchangeability of these different phenomena is one of the problems which arises when an attempt is made to categorize concepts such as leisure, recreation, free time and work independently. In order to unravel the meanings of these phenomena, in this section both dictionary definitions and those given by sociologists in each of the four countries are documented. An attempt is also made to determine to what extent definitions can be considered as country-specific by showing how researchers interpret the phenomena in the four countries and document national practices.

Dictionary definitions

Work time

As dictionaries define work rather than work time, it is extrapolated here that work time is time spent at work which is defined in the Collins English Dictionary, for example, as 'physical or mental effort directed towards doing or making something', or 'paid employment at a job' (Collins, 1986). Being 'at work' is defined in the same dictionary as being 'at one's job or place of employment'.

In the Wahrig German dictionary, Arbeit (work) is defined as 'körperliche oder geistige Betätigung, Tätigkeit, Beschäftigung; Beruf, Mühe, Anstrengung' (physical or mental activity, occupation, employment; profession, effort). Arbeitszeit (work time) is 'Zeitdauer, während deren gearbeitet wird' (time during which work is carried out) (Wahrig, 1968). Freizeit (free time, leisure) is defined simply as 'arbeitsfreie Zeit' (time free from work) (Wahrig, 1968).

In the Bordas Encyclopédie (1971), travail (work) is defined as: 'L'ensemble des efforts que fait un homme pour exploiter un capital (qui n'est pas nécessairement le sien)'. (The efforts made by an individual to exploit capital (which is not necessarily his or her own). Work cannot be distinguished by activity, since the same activity can be work for one person and a game or leisure for another. The main characteristic identified is that work tires, exhausts and kills people (Bordas Encyclopédie, 1971).

In the Japanese Kojien dictionary, shigoto is defined as meaning 'work', or 'a task' (Kojien, 1988). Rōdō-jikan means working hours (Kojien, 1988:2552) and shūgyō refers to 'work time' (Kojien, 1988).

The dictionary definitions for work are similar in the three West European languages in that the notion of employment is involved. In addition, work is defined as requiring 'effort'. In Japan, there seems to be a difference as shigoto simply means work per se, or a task. The idea of employment does not seem to feature as strongly in this meaning as it does in the West European languages. For the purposes of the present study, work time is defined as time spent at work in paid employment, and free time is time spent outside work time.

Leisure and free time

In the Oxford English Dictionary, leisure is defined as 'free time, time at one's disposal, enjoyment of this' and in the Collins English Dictionary as 'time or opportunity for ease, relaxation, etc.'. The Dictionary of Social Science (1959) defines leisure as: 'all the time that is not spent in work, eating resting, illness, or idleness; it is a time of diversion from work' (Zadrozny, 1959).

Muße is the literal translation of leisure in German, but this term is infrequently used both in everyday language and in studies on leisure. In the Wahrig dictionary, Muße is defined as 'Freizeit' (free time, leisure) and 'freie Zeit zu etwas' (free time, leisure to do something) (Wahrig, 1968). Muße in the Collins dictionary is simply translated as 'leisure' (Collins German-English, English-German Dictionary, 1980). Both leisure and free time are translated into German in the same dictionary as 'Freizeit', however (1980). Few West German studies on leisure refer to Muße. Leisure seems generally to be referred to as Freizeit, which, as already noted, can also be translated as free time.

The French word loisir is shown in the Larousse dictionary to come from the Latin word licere, to be permitted, or allowed, and is defined as free time outside work, or a pastime freely carried out after work time (Larousse, 1966). Loisir can be translated into English as leisure or spare time (Collins Robert French Dictionary). The ambiguity of this meaning is similar to that for leisure in the Oxford English Dictionary. Confusingly, the plural of loisir can be temps libre (free time) or loisirs (free time, or free time activities) (Larousse, 1966).

Two words are frequently used in Japanese studies when the authors are referring to what in English is called 'leisure'. Yoka, an original

Japanese word, means 'spare time', or 'leisure hours' (Kojien, 1988:2464). Rejā is derived from the English word leisure and, indeed, translates back into English as 'leisure' (Kojien). Hima means 'spare time', or 'vacant hours', but this word is not generally used in Japanese studies on leisure (Kojien, 1988).

Free time seems universally to mean time during which work is not carried out, although the meaning of the phrase is ambiguous as it is not clear whether paid work or work in general is meant. Furthermore, as is seen from the section on definitions of leisure, free time in French (temps libre) and German (Freizeit) are both used to mean leisure. In English, leisure is also defined as free time! Similarly, Muße in German is defined in German and English as 'free time' or 'leisure'. In Japanese, hima, meaning 'free time', is seldom used in studies on leisure. Instead, yoka, which again means free time or leisure, and rejā, also meaning free time or leisure, are used in research.

Most of the dictionaries in all four countries indicate that leisure is time free from work and/or activity carried out during this time. By extrapolation, leisure at work would seem to be a misnomer.

Recreation

The Oxford English Dictionary defines recreation as 'a process or means of refreshing or entertaining oneself, pleasurable activity'. In the Collins English Dictionary, recreation is 'refreshment of health or spirits by relaxation and enjoyment, and an activity or pastime that promotes this'.

Recreation in German is translated in the Collins dictionary as Erholung (recovery, recuperation), Entspannung (relaxation), or Hobby

(hobby) (Collins, 1980). Erholung (recreation) is defined in the Wahrig dictionary as 'das Sicherholen, die Entspannung, Kräftigung, Gesundung' (relaxation, invigoration, recovery or recuperation) (Wahrig, 1968). In the same dictionary, Entspannung is defined as 'Lockerung' (loosening, easing, relaxation) (Wahrig, 1968). Recreation can also be translated into German as Freizeit in some contexts, as, for example, in the term Freizeitaktivität, meaning recreational activity. The synonymity of leisure and recreation is seen in the word Freizeitraum, which means recreation room, free time or leisure room (Collins Robert German-English Dictionary).

The French word for recreation is recréation, and this is defined in the Larousse dictionary as something which 'recreates', or as 'relaxation', 'play' or a 'distraction' (Larousse, 1966).

The meaning of recreation in the three West European languages is that it is something which recreates energy or health, or refreshes. In French, it is also defined as 'play'.

In that definitions of the terms work, leisure and free time are ambiguous, there thus appear to be similarities in the four countries. The confusion occurs not only across languages, but also within languages. The dictionaries do not give clearcut definitions of these concepts. Recreation, however, seems to be more precisely defined as activity or relaxation which results in the individual regaining energy.

Sociologists' definitions of leisure and free time

Leisure/work dichotomy

As has been indicated in the section on dictionary definitions, determining what is meant by leisure is problematical, and even more so in the present study when attempting to define leisure at work. This section, therefore, examines the meanings of leisure in greater detail and focuses in particular on the qualities attributed to it, and on the way leisure is manifest in social activity including social interaction at work.

The problem of developing a concept of leisure at work may be difficult to overcome because of the importance attributed for so long to the dichotomous relationship between leisure and work. As Glasser showed in the early 1970s, researchers and the general public in Western Europe tend to perceive leisure as something which is pleasurable and distinct from work, which is assumed to be unpleasant (Glasser, 1970:11). He claimed that: "'leisure" is often defined as a period you devote to pleasurable activity, a time you endeavour to escape to as often as possible from that other, unpleasurable activity called "work"' (Glasser, 1970:11).

The split between leisure and work in the West, whereby the majority of white-collar workers perceive their work to be 'dull, routine, and devoid of hope and interest' has been emphasized by the sociologist, Best (1973:15). He has pointed out that: '... for increasing numbers, the activities and goals of today's work conflict with their hopes of a better way of life, which seems possible but ever elusive' (Best, 1973:15).

Csikszentmihalyi (1975) distinguished between work and leisure by claiming that for many people in industrialized societies, work is what one must do and therefore cannot be enjoyable, and that it is 'what we have to do most of the time against our desire', whereas leisure is 'what we like to do though useless'. The result, he claimed, is that we 'feel bored and tired on our jobs, and guilty when we are at leisure' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:3). A vicious circle regarding the relationship between leisure and work in industrialized countries is illustrated by the claim that: 'the more a person complies with extrinsically rewarded leisure, the less he enjoys himself, and the more extrinsic rewards he needs' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:3).

Definitions of leisure in Britain

Formulating a definition of leisure does not seem to have become any easier with the passage of time. Brown (1985) has remarked that defining work and leisure is 'equally difficult'. Leisure can refer to a 'quality of life', a 'combination of time, activity and experience', 'time free from work and other necessary activities such as eating and sleeping', "play" activities which are outside normal routines' and 'experiences which are intrinsically rewarding' (Brown, 1985:908; see also, Parker, 1971; Roberts, K., 1981). These definitions seem to imply that leisure can only occur outside work, or, in Brown's words, 'outside normal routines', which mean, presumably, work. Indeed, he goes on to explain that: 'Whilst leisure can fairly clearly be distinguished from paid employment, it may be much more difficult to separate it from other forms of work such as housework or voluntary work' (Brown, 1985:908).

In Britain, Deem has claimed that, according to the view which sees leisure as a reward for work:

For most people employment is unrewarding, boring and frustrating, but also inescapable. Leisure is seen as fulfilling individuals, in recompense for other more unsatisfying aspects of life, especially (paid) work.
(Deem, 1985:190).

Garner has claimed that many workers in Britain desire more freedom to choose when and how they work. In addition, time is spent at work on activities that do not produce results. If attention were focused on results, however, time would be created and could be used for leisure, being with the family or performing other result-producing activity (Garner, 1986:126).

Definitions of leisure in West Germany

In West Germany, definitions of leisure seem to be based, in the main, on those established in France, America and Britain. West German contributors in the field include Scheuch (1965; 1969), Opaschowski (1972), Woesler (1976), Nahrstedt (1972; 1983; 1986) and Reuband (1985). Freizeit (leisure) differs from freie Zeit (free time), however, as the latter is time free from obligations and physiological necessities (Scheuch, 1969:754). The implication is that the term Freizeit is used in German to mean leisure in its 'pure', or 'real' form, rather than just time 'free from work'. However, the interpretation of Freizeit generally seems to include the concept of time free from work.

The transition from defining leisure as activity to a more holistic (all-encompassing) view of leisure has developed in similar ways in West Germany to those in the other two West European countries. Opaschowski (1972) maintained that until the mid-1960s, leisure was considered to be a break after performing work: 'Freizeit hatte lediglich die Funktion einer Pause, die der Erholung von geleisteter Arbeit diente'. (The only function of leisure was to have a break which allowed people to recover

from work already carried out) (Opaschowski, 1972:29).

Similar trends are apparent in the thinking of leisure sociologists in most industrialized societies. In West Germany, even in the late 1970s leisure was still viewed by some authors in West Germany as 'time left over after work', and as 'free time'.

Scheuch maintained that leisure (Freizeit) is 'Zeit, die nach objektiven Abgrenzungen an sich disponibel wäre' (time available after objective constraints have been carried out) (Scheuch, 1969:753). Freizeit is thus generally used to mean leisure, and West German writers define it in similar ways to those given by researchers writing in English when the latter use the word leisure.

Over a decade later, it appears that Scheuch had adjusted his perception of leisure from one where leisure is a recuperative activity which occurs outside work time, to a more all-embracing (holistic) definition:

'Freizeit ist nicht mehr in erster Linie Erholung, sondern ist eigenständiger Lebensbereich geworden...'. (Leisure is no longer just a matter of 'recuperation', but has become an important area of life in its own right) (1983:16).

The word Freizeit (leisure, or free time) has only been in use in West Germany for about a hundred years. According to Voß (1986), a West German leisure sociologist, such a term was previously not needed in West Germany as the concept did not exist: 'Früher wurde das Wort 'Freizeit' nicht vermißt, weil es im Leben der Menschen alles das nicht gab, was wir heute darunter verstehen'. (Formerly the word 'leisure' was not missed, because there used to be nothing in life which corresponds to what we

understand by it today) (Voß, 1986:8). 'Freizeit' has also been described as a 'rationalized' and 'democratized' form of 'Muße' (Nahrstedt, 1986:224).

Scheuch mixed the concepts of free time and leisure, implying that in West Germany they are the same, and emphasized that leisure occurs outside work:

Freizeit scheint eben für viele unter uns auch in den Industrieländern Zeit frei von Zeitplanung und Zeitbewußtsein; wahrscheinlich berührt die Erholung in der Nicht-Arbeitszeit mit darauf.

For many of us in industrial countries, leisure seems to be time which is free from time planning and time consciousness; recuperation also probably occurs during non-work time.
(Scheuch, 1967:51-2).

Some researchers also attempt to 'explain' leisure by describing its functions. Thus, Auer (1974), a West German philosopher, for example, asserted that during the period of industrialization, when workdays typically lasted between twelve and thirteen hours, the only function of leisure was to restore energy in order to be able to work again (Auer, 1974:31). He claimed, moreover, that the 'restoring' or 'recuperative' function of leisure is still the main purpose of leisure: 'Die regenerative Funktion bleibt aber auch bei fortschreitender Entwicklung die fundamentale Funktion der Freizeit'. (Even in advanced societies, the regenerative function remains the fundamental function of leisure). (Auer, 1974:31).

The second main function of leisure mentioned by Auer was the 'freeing' effect which is necessary to maintain a balance in life after performing work: 'Die technische Perfektion der Produktionsprozesse verlangt als notwendiges Korrektive die emanzipatorische Funktion der Freizeit'. (The technical perfection of production processes demands as a necessary

balancing mechanism the emancipatory function of leisure) (Auer, 1974:32). Echoing the work of Dumazedier (1967) and Parker (1971), Auer reiterated that leisure serves as a 'diversion' or as 'entertainment' and as 'compensation' for work (Auer, 1974:32).

In many West German studies, leisure is clearly distinguished from work and is sometimes equated with 'life outside work'. Funke (1974) claimed that the dividing line between work and leisure in West Germany is very strong and that 'private life' is the same thing as 'leisure':

Außerhalb der Haupterwerbsarbeit fühlen wir uns frei, sind wir andere Menschen. Der Schnitt zwischen Berufsarbeit und Privatleben ist so tief, daß eine feinere Unterscheidung entfällt und Privatleben gleich Freizeit gesetzt wird.

Outside our main jobs we feel free, we are different people. The division between professional work and private life is so deep that subtle distinction disappears and private life is said to be the same as leisure.

(Funke, 1974:189).

Woesler (1976) indicated that Freizeit has two main features: aspects of time and content. It is, firstly, 'die Zeit, über die wir frei von berufs- und existenzbedingten notwendigem Tun verfügen' (time in which we are free from tasks and work necessary for survival). Secondly:

Die Gestaltung der Freizeit umfaßt und ermöglicht persönliche Erhöhung und Zugewinn an Lebensqualität durch die Entfaltung und Weiterentwicklung von Neigungen und Fähigkeiten sowohl durch rezeptive als auch aktive Formen der Freizeitgestaltung und persönliche Weiterbildung.

Leisure gives access to a better quality of life and personal fulfilment by developing and promoting individual skills and talents through both passive and active forms of leisure activity and continuing personal education.

(Woesler, 1976:53).

Agricola (1986) has defined leisure as time outside of work, when individuals freely choose what to do, whether that is nothing, or cultural, economic, communicative, social, religious and political activities, alone or with others (Agricola, 1986:17). Different forms of

leisure identified by him in West Germany are: daily leisure (that is, leisure at the end of the workday and rest of the day), weekly leisure (weekends and days off in the week), yearly leisure (vacations, holidays), lifetime leisure (free semesters, sabbaticals, maternity leave), old age leisure (retirement), obligatory leisure (disability, short time working, unemployment) (Agricola, 1986:17).

At the same time, however, West German researchers have also asserted that time free from work is not necessarily leisure (Agricola, 1986:5). Time free from work is often used in West Germany to rest and recover from work, and frequently leisure cannot be indulged in because shift work or irregular working hours do not allow free time to occur when 'leisure' (recreational) facilities are available (Agricola, 1986:5). It has been claimed, indeed, that many West Germans associate leisure not with joy and relaxation, but with boredom, stress and loneliness. These problems are probably caused by living accommodation which is too cramped, lack of facilities, illness, disability and problems such as unemployment and unexpected retirement (Agricola, 1986:6).

Definitions of leisure in France

In France, many studies tend to define leisure as being particular activities carried out during free time. Generalizing about industrialized society, Dumazedier, in one of his earlier works, suggested that leisure occurs when work has been completed:

Leisure is activity - apart from the obligations of work, family, and society - to which the individual turns at will, for either relaxation, diversion, or broadening his knowledge and his spontaneous social participation, the free exercise of his creative capacity. (Dumazedier, 1967:16-17).

Dumazedier made reference to Marx's belief that functions of leisure included the broad sense of the term, whereby 'this time serves for rest,

during which the worker is freed from physical and mental tension, caused, in addition to professional activity, by social, family and political obligations as a whole (Dumazedier, 1975:59). Freedom to choose is an important feature of leisure and the possibility of achieving self-fulfilment through it and through the three major functions of leisure: relaxation, entertainment, personal development, is pointed out by Dumazedier (1967:14). In the 1980s, earlier arguments were reinforced:

partout ce qui domine à plus de 90% du temps libéré du travail professionnel ou familial: c'est un ensemble d'activités personnelles ou sociales choisies par chacun pour exprimer d'abord son individualité en dehors des nécessités en engagements institutionnels. ... C'est ce que nous appelons le loisir.

everywhere that which dominates more than 90% of time which is free from professional or domestic work is a number of personal or social activities chosen by each individual to express his or her individuality outside the constraints of institutional obligations. ... This is what we call leisure. (Dumazedier, 1983:354).

In a more recent definition of leisure he has stressed the individual nature of leisure:

Le loisir est un temps social affecté à soi, pour soi, en priorité. ... Le loisir est le temps social où prime le repos de soi, le divertissement ou le développement autonome de soi, indépendamment des normes du travail ou de l'action spirituelle ou politique, même quand celles-ci exercent une influence sur ce développement.

Leisure is social time for individuals. Leisure is social time for resting, entertainment or personal development, independent of the norms of work or spiritual or political action, even when these influence this development. (Dumazedier, 1987:15).

Dumazedier has repeatedly asserted that leisure is more than non-work activities and recommends that there should be a distinction between 'leisure time' and 'time at our free disposal' (Dumazedier, 1975:61). He has stressed, moreover, that 'toute activité qui se produit dans le temps libre n'est pas loisir' (not all activity in free time is leisure) (Dumazedier, 1987:15).

Definitions of leisure in Japan

The Japanese word meaning free time, or leisure, is yoka. According to Nozawa (1990), this word was used in a book published by the Ōsaka department of social problems: yoka seikatsu no kenkyū (A Study of Leisure Life). Prior to the second World War, however, the word goraku, which means an amusement, was in general use. The word yoka, meaning a period of free time, was first used generally twenty to thirty years ago. Since the rapid economic development in the 1970s, yoka has become an everyday word in Japan (Nozawa, 1990).

Rejā, borrowed and adapted from English, has been in general use for only twenty years and is nowadays a 'popular' word in Japan (Nozawa, 1990). Linhart (1984), however, has noted that already in the 1960s, the phrase rejā būmu (leisure boom) was in use and that in 1965, there was an awareness in Japan of a change in attitudes toward work and leisure that was 'revolutionary', and involved moving away from believing that work was central to life and that satisfaction and personal fulfilment could also be found through leisure (Linhart, 1984:560-1).

Meanings given for rejā in Japan seem to be largely synonymous with those for leisure in the West (see for example, Nozawa, 1975). Nozawa has defined rejā as being free time and free time activities, consisting mainly of outdoor and holiday periods and activities, 'doing nothing' and non-work (Nozawa, 1975:84). He emphasized the meaning of the Latin word licere (licence, or permission to do something), from which leisure is derived, and the problem of having to connect leisure with work (Nozawa, 1975:84).

Plath (1964) has claimed that the Japanese meaning of rejā is that it is time freely used for individual interests and activities (Plath,

1964:126). Yoka means time which is free or left over after work, residual time or "surplus time" or "spare time", the after hours when one is off duty from nexus' (Plath, 1964:89), is also used in the literature to refer to leisure, albeit less often than rejā.

References to leisure in Japan focus largely on leisure activities and the growth of the leisure industry. In recent years, the range of activities has diversified, but there is much interest shown in the amount of time spent on watching television, as the average Japanese views for three hours a day and up to four hours on Sundays (Inoue, 1983:382).

The increasing 'commercialisation' of leisure is seen as a threat by some researchers. Nishino and Takahashi (1989), for example, refer to the 'elimination of the family house as a leisure area' in Japan, and imply that leisure has become too much of a commoditized, expensive pursuit, rather than the more traditional kind of leisure activities which 'often do not require much space, use valuable natural resources, or expensive equipment' (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989:14).

Much research on leisure in the four countries has used the leisure/work dichotomy as a starting point when defining and explaining leisure. Differences are apparent, however, in that such references in the 1980s are less frequent in France and Britain than those in West Germany and Japan. This would seem to indicate a tendency for this view of leisure to be perpetuated in the latter two countries. The implication of this for the present study is that it would be expected that the French and British societies are more likely to welcome and understand a concept of leisure at work than the West Germans and the Japanese.

Definitions of recreation

The literature illustrates various forms of leisure at work. That which seems to receive the most attention by researchers concerns patterns of recreation at work, for example, chatting, games, sport and social events, rather than attitudes toward them and leisure in general at work. As Deem (1985) has pointed out, activities are easier to assess than attitudes.

The dictionaries define recreation as activity carried out in order to recuperate from work or other activity. The apparent synonymity in studies and in everyday use of the terms leisure, recreation and free time, however, implies that most people in each of the four countries have similar conceptions as to what these phenomena are. The interchangeable use of the terms leisure, free time and recreation, whether they occur in or outside work, is evident in the literature. Parker (1971) writes about industrial recreation and leisure in Britain and seems to use the terms synonymously. Smith (1978) and J. Roberts (1983) in Britain and Plath (1964) in Japan, amongst others, also refer to leisure, free time and recreation as if they all had the same meaning.

Although these terms are often used synonymously, there does appear to be agreement among sociologists that for leisure to be experienced, the prerequisites of freedom and autonomy are necessary. Recreation is activity where these conditions are not essential. The fact that recreation frequently seems to be viewed as leisure by sociologists, causes confusion about the meanings of the two concepts.

Research on leisure at work in the four countries tends to focus on the patterns and benefits of recreation activities at work, and to use the words recreation and leisure interchangeably. Although leisure can be

experienced during recreational activity, the term recreation is a more narrow concept. Its specific purpose is as a means of recuperating in order to be able to work, and is thus not the same as leisure. Indeed, participating in recreation activities does not guarantee that the effect of restoring energy, or relaxing, is achieved.

The common assumption that what looks like leisure (for example, a sporting activity) is leisure, is questioned by Parker. Referring to 'recreation' in industry, he has claimed that:

Although such activity may have a leisure-like quality, its function in the industrial process and the fact that it can scarcely be said to be freely chosen put it in the category of work obligations rather than of leisure.
(Parker, 1971:68).

Sports and games, for instance, are frequently considered to be leisure activities, but Kleiber (1984), has implied that in industrialized societies, they are likely to be rather 'work-like', or 'recreation', as they tend to be carried out in order to achieve status or some other extrinsic reward. Whilst taking up a sport is freely chosen in the beginning: 'continuation has everything to do with pleasing those 'significant others'. To that extent, I would argue, it is not a matter of leisure' (Kleiber, 1984:9). The same author maintained further that when sport is 'institutionalized' it is 'hardly ever leisure for those who are the performers' (Kleiber, 1984:11). It is leisure, on the other hand, when it is a 'manifestation of emergent motivation, self-expression and the cultivation of shared experience' (Kleiber, 1984:11-12).

The literal meaning of recreation is 'a recovery from, or preparation for, other pursuits which are tiring and depleting, as in rest from work or restoration for work' (Glyptis, 1989:3). The word recreation is used in her book to refer to 'the more active, more organized and more formal

leisure pursuits' (Glyptis, 1989:3).

Other researchers have contrasted leisure and recreation, showing that what is often called a 'leisure activity' is usually more like recreation, and that the latter is not always perceived as leisure (Neulinger, 1981). Neulinger has described the difference between them as follows:

...recreation has always been an important aspect of life and will probably be even more so in the future. But leisure is a broader concept than recreation. It relates to all meaningful activities and recreation is only one of these.

(Neulinger, 1981:xiv).

The study of recreation at work in the literature mirrors the time-budget studies of leisure activities which occur outside work, that is, during 'leisure' or 'free' time. Recreation at work tends to be examined in the literature according to whether it occurs (i) at the workplace or on company premises but outside work time, (ii) at or outside the workplace but during working hours. The present study makes a distinction between leisure and recreation, whereby for leisure to be experienced, the qualities of freedom and autonomy must be perceived, whereas for recreation, these qualities are not necessary.

Intrinsic satisfactions of leisure

Where aspects of leisure are present in work, it could be argued that there is a weakening of the distinction between work and leisure. The lack of or blurring of a dividing line between work and leisure of craftsmen, for example, has been identified by Mills, who claimed that they perceive 'no split of work and play, or work and culture' (Mills, 1973:10). The underlying reason for the craftsman's ability to meld work and leisure is his freedom to begin work '... according to his own plan,

and, during the activity by which it is shaped, he is free to modify its form and the manner of its creation' (Mills, 1973:11). These findings echo the points made in Chapter 1 about the lack of separation between work and leisure in pre-industrial times.

Kelly (1972), in America, has asserted that Westerners still find it 'difficult to define leisure except as the negation of work' (Kelly, 1972:51). The essence of his own definition is that freedom is essential for something to be leisure and that the experience of it depends on the attitude and personality of individuals:

Leisure is chosen not required; discretionary, not obligatory. The second universal dimension is derived from the first. Since work must be done and leisure cannot be 'necessary', then leisure is 'not work'. (Kelly, 1976:3).

He has asserted that:

Leisure, then, is defined by the state of mind of the participant. Two paradigms include both the differentiation from work and relative freedom from constraint as central, but suggest that these are social as well as psychological conditions. (Kelly, 1976:4).

Furthermore, any activity could be leisure, depending on the state of mind of the participant: 'In no case is leisure defined by the form or the content of the activity. Almost everything can be leisure in some context and nothing is always leisure in every context' (Kelly, 1976:5). More recently, the social element of leisure was stressed by Kelly when he indicated that leisure 'is freedom for activity that creates community, a voluntary bonding with others' (Kelly, 1986:455). It has also been argued that although most definitions of leisure refer to the necessity of freedom to choose in determining whether something is leisure, this is often lacking since people are frequently guided in their choices by 'family or friends' (Anderson, 1974:40).

Neulinger (1981) has indicated that merely labelling a certain activity as leisure, as is often done in surveys of leisure activities, is unsatisfactory. Leisure categorized as a 'leisure activity' is not the same as 'pure' leisure, which occurs where there is 'freedom of choice and intrinsic motivation' (Neulinger, 1981:128). Furthermore, 'Leisure has one and only one essential criterion and that is the condition of perceived freedom. Leisure is any activity carried out freely and without constraint' (Neulinger, 1974:136). The same author has clearly stated that: 'There cannot be leisure without perceived freedom' (Neulinger, 1974:136). In a later work, he linked choice with perceived freedom, claiming that both are related to leisure. However, as there are several levels of choice involved when people select certain activities, the reason for doing a particular activity is not always clearcut (Neulinger, 1981:192).

Intrinsic satisfactions of leisure in Britain

Veal (1987) has described the view proposed by Aristotle (Sinclair, 1962), that actual activities are less important in determining whether something is leisure than the choice in doing them and that, in any case, 'pure' leisure activities differ from play activities (Veal, 1987:24). He maintained that the Aristotelean view of leisure as 'pure leisure' is possibly never experienced by the average person, since most people 'never have a long enough period away from work, paid or unpaid, to be really free of its influence' (Veal, 1987:23). According to this argument, it could be said that leisure is really in the mind and that the same is true of work.

In the British context, Veal concluded from Aristotle's theories that certain activities commonly considered to be leisure constitute 'resting'

rather than leisure. These include, for example, watching television and having a drink; even going on holiday may be 'merely an extended form of resting' (Veal, 1987:23). He stated that an experience can only truly be leisure once individuals are 'fully rested and recovered from the effects of work and faced with the question, 'What shall I do with my time?' (Veal, 1987:23). The word 'leisure' is not usually used in 'this precise sense', which is best described by the term 'pure leisure' (Veal, 1987:23).

Intrinsic satisfactions of leisure in West Germany

Echoing the French, British and American theories, Voß (1986) has maintained that an important feature of a Freizeit activity is Freiwilligkeit (free will) or die freie Wahl (free choice or freedom to choose (Voß, 1986:11). Voß has indicated that because freedom to choose is usually only possible outside work or formal education, the term Freizeit tends, in German, to become synonymous with Freiheit (freedom). He stressed that such freedom is relative, and that all kinds of social constraints exist during time which is spent away from paid employment (Voß, 1986:11).

The literature in West Germany has followed a similar pattern to that in Britain, where studies produced in the 1960s and 1970s tended to emphasize the leisure/work dichotomy, whereas those which have been written in the last decade have focused more on the intrinsic qualities of leisure. Earlier studies did, however, refer to the latter, if only briefly. In the 1960s, for example, Scheuch emphasized that freedom to choose is essential for something to be called leisure or, to be more precise, it is behaviour in conditions which allow room for choice (Scheuch, 1969:756). More recently, Agricola (1986) has maintained that

everyone has a different view of leisure, but that most sociologists are agreed on the basic element of leisure, that is, freedom to choose (Agricola, 1986:5).

The problem of distinguishing between the meaning of work and leisure in West Germany was addressed by Scheuch when he highlighted the subjective nature of leisure by arguing that one person's leisure can be another's work, and vice versa. A sports professional, for example, may perceive his or her sport as work, whilst the same activity could be leisure for an amateur playing during free time. Scheuch demonstrated how in West Germany the same activity can be work, semi-leisure or leisure:

So ist die Reparatur eines Gartenzaunes durch einen Schreiner überhaupt keine Freizeitaktivität, die Reparatur des gleichen Zaunes durch einen Arbeiter mit dem Beruf Schlosser sogenannte Halbfreizeit (demi loisir), und bei einem Arzt gilt sie als ein Hobby. Mit den Kindern Schularbeiten besprechen wird von den Ehefrauen als Freizeit angesehen, wenn ihre Ehemänner dies tun - als Arbeit, wenn sie selbst dies tun. Gartenarbeit in einem Lande, wo eigenes Gemüse das einzige Gemüse ist, das ein Arbeiter sich leisten kann, wird von diesem Arbeiter keinesfalls als Freizeit bezeichnet; der gleiche Kohlkopf in einem Lande mit guter und billiger Versorgung der Bevölkerung gilt als Objekt von Freizeit.

Thus the repairing of a garden fence by a carpenter is definitely not leisure, the repairing of the same fence by a worker whose profession is plumbing is semi-leisure, and the same job done by a doctor would be perceived as a hobby. Talking about school work with children is leisure for married women, work for their husbands - if the latter even do that. Gardening in a country where one's own vegetables are the only available vegetables is in no way viewed as leisure by the worker; the same cabbage in a country with a cheap and plentiful vegetable supply is viewed as an object of leisure. (Scheuch, 1967:52).

It is not necessarily true that such categorizing according to types of people is as clearcut as Scheuch suggested. The dividing line between leisure time and work time is probably more blurred for all such groups, whatever the activity they are doing, than Scheuch implied. He stressed, however, how difficult it is to measure the time spent on leisure, since people frequently 'exist' without being aware of what they are doing and

that work and leisure activities run into one another without being separated in the individual's mind (Scheuch, 1967:51). This highlights the convenience that many sociologists resort to of splitting work time and leisure time.

Leisure has been shown in the literature review to be important to West Germans as it gives opportunities for communication, participation, socialization and interaction (Woesler, 1976:53).

Intrinsic satisfactions of leisure in France and Japan

In the late 1960s, Dumazedier claimed that whilst leisure is not the same as freedom, it was the 'result of free choice' (Dumazedier, 1968:250). He inferred that leisure has no extrinsic purpose, but is a diversion where people seek 'a state of satisfaction'. Moreover, leisure is linked to an individual's personality (Dumazedier, 1968:250-1).

Studies in Japan which use a more holistic definition of leisure were not found in this review, and it is assumed that researchers have not focused on this subject in their studies.

From separation to integration of leisure and work

In Britain, Roberts (1970) has commented that because leisure is so difficult to define, there is a lack of precision in results in studies on leisure. This imprecision, however, should not be confused with inaccuracy, for:

the fact is that leisure is often interwoven with the obligatory elements in people's lives. Leisure is not rigidly segregated as an isolated compartment of life. Rather it is the case that leisure pervades, and is pervaded by, numerous other types of activities, and attempts to make precise measurements of the time and money that people devote to their leisure are unrealistic and invalid. (Roberts, K., 1970:7).

It was shown in the first part of this section that the understanding of leisure in the four countries is synonymous with 'free time' or 'time at one's disposal'. However, the description appears to be undergoing change to one where, on the one hand, leisure can occur at any time, whether in 'free time' or 'work time', or so-called 'non-free time', and, on the other hand, where events apart from leisure, such as work, paid or unpaid, or tasks related to family obligations, may also occur during 'free time' or 'leisure time'.

In the second part of the section, it was shown that freedom and autonomy are recurring features in many of the definitions of leisure in the four countries. Although many definitions of leisure refer to these prerequisites for leisure, there is still, however, a tendency for studies to imply that leisure is the antonym of work and can be categorized by certain 'leisure activities'.

The most influential leisure sociologists in the West European countries, the USA and Japan emphasize the difficulty of categorizing leisure and work in absolute terms. They suggest rather that leisure can occur at any time and in any place, since it may be perceived whenever and wherever its prerequisites, namely, freedom and autonomy, exist.

The literature reviewed above indicates that in the three West European countries and in America, most sociologists emphasize that freedom is a prerequisite for leisure, although there appears to be some variance in what is meant by freedom of choice and freedom to choose and in the meanings of leisure and recreational activities. Leisure is shown to be an enjoyable experience whose necessary underlying features are perceived freedom and autonomy, and can be said to occur anywhere and at any time. At work it might be expected to occur in 'recreation' activities such as

chatting, socializing and playing. Leisure can also be experienced when performing work itself.

In France, the function of leisure as social time for individuals (Dumazedier, 1987:15) is highlighted more than in the other countries. There is much less emphasis on freedom of choice and satisfaction of the individual in the Japanese definitions of leisure. Leisure still seems to be defined in Japan by activity and time more than in the West European countries.

In Britain and France, but to a lesser extent in West Germany, there appears to be a gradual movement from separation of leisure and work to a definition whereby leisure can occur at any time. This movement, however, does not yet seem to have gained much momentum in Japan.

CHAPTER 3 CHANGING LEISURE AND WORK VALUES: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Leisure values in work

Several authors show that leisure alone cannot provide the satisfaction and identity that people seek and that it cannot fill the vacuum created by work which, in the early 1970s, was unfulfilling for many people (Glasser, 1973:63-4). Regarding leisure and work in the British context, Glasser has suggested that people are 'beginning to grope towards stable values once more' (Glasser, 1973:64).

There is evidence in the literature of the increasing value that is being attached to leisure in each of the four countries. Parker (1971), for example, has portrayed leisure as a phenomenon with many aspects having a significant impact on all facets of people's lives. This, according to several sociologists, is at the expense of work values, which are, apparently, diminishing in importance in industrialized societies. Neulinger, for example, has indicated that in industrialized society, work will lose its function of being the most important aspect of life on which individuals base their self-esteem and security (Neulinger, 1981:119).

Leisure value systems in Britain

The concept of work being 'good' and leisure 'bad', especially for the majority of people, has continued into the twentieth century. According to Haworth, a sociologist writing about British society, 'the Puritan Ethic, The Gospel of Work, glorifying work and implying that leisure time has got to be earned and re-earned, except for the old, is still to some extent part of our present cultural values' (Haworth, 1974:10).

The increasing importance of leisure compared with work was highlighted by Argyle, when he claimed that: 'Roman and medieval attitudes of aversion to work were replaced by the Protestant ethic, which in turn may now be giving way to a concern with leisure and consumption rather than work' (Argyle, 1974:93). Argyle also emphasized that work in present times is still highly valued compared with leisure: 'In modern society work as such is valued, and the idle are despised as parasites' (Argyle, 1974:98). It would thus appear this conception has changed little over the past century.

Not all sociologists agree that leisure will become the dominant value. Some researchers indicate that whilst leisure may grow in importance in people's value systems, this does not necessarily mean that work is devalued. Smith has implied that by having more of the elements of leisure within work in Britain, work could retain its importance in people's lives. He has praised company policies which increasingly allow workers flexible arrangements regarding hours, when a worker 'can negotiate his hours to suit his family and social commitments' (Smith, 1978:27), and emphasized the triangular link between leisure, work and family. In the early 1980s, Roberts stressed that in relation to work, leisure was 'neither subservient nor domineering' (Roberts, K., 1981:56).

Indeed, in spite of the reported declining value of work in British society, and the increasing awareness of a merging of work and leisure time, several researchers argue that work is still very important for an individual's sense of identity (Roberts, K., 1981:67). Whilst leisure values are developing, sociologists are cautious about claiming they will overtake work in importance or become a central life interest. As Roberts has pointed out: 'Leisure might find some expression in work, but

are there any trends suggesting that these values are likely to become a dominant influence?' (Roberts, K., 1978:141-2).

Roberts has highlighted the argument made by some writers that work is receding in importance 'not only in terms of the proportion of lifetime it accounts for, but also in our value system' (1981:67), but has suggested that: 'work-roles are still an important source of identity', and that: 'work remains an important prop in the social personas of most adult males, and for many women as well' (Roberts, K., 1978:143-4).

The growing importance of leisure has led several researchers to suggest that in the future, leisure will affect work. Cherry and Travis (1980), for instance, have maintained that while the organization of work time influences leisure, the demand for more free time will affect and influence, 'even if not directly, the future organisation of work' (Cherry and Travis, 1980:3).

According to Watts (1983), a British sociologist, for most people in industrialized societies, work is merely a 'necessary evil' (Watts, 1983:122). If leisure is to become equal in value or more highly valued than work, then it may need to lose its 'negative' image (Deem, 1985). Deem has suggested that if the passivity of much modern leisure were replaced by 'a more constructive use of leisure', then the 'present distinctions between (paid) work and leisure, which see work as good and leisure as passive or sinful', would disappear (Deem, 1985:204-5).

There is an awareness in Britain that although leisure may not become a dominant value compared to work, it may nevertheless influence work and other areas of life. According to sociologists such as Deem (1985), transferring features of an 'improved' leisure to work, could have

positive benefits for the enhancement of both work and leisure.

Leisure value systems in West Germany

In the West German context, the reduction in working hours since the end of the first World War has led to numerous and lively discussions in West Germany about how to spend the hours freed from work (Schaginger, 1974). It has been suggested that this interest in leisure springs from a need to develop value systems which are not governed by work considerations (Schaginger, 1974:317).

The West German sociologists, Hinrichs and Wiesenthal (1983), have argued that results of surveys show that there is a shift in work values in West Germany. Whilst work is gradually being valued less, and is no longer being considered as central to life, improved content and conditions of work are being demanded:

So werden einerseits höhere Ansprüche an Arbeitsinhalte und Arbeitsbedingungen artikuliert, andererseits gibt es deutliche Anzeichen für eine allmähliche 'Entwertung' der Arbeit als zentralem Lebensbereich.

On the one hand, it is argued that there should be improvements in work content and working conditions, and on the other hand, there is a clear tendency of the devaluation of work as a central life interest. (Hinrichs and Wiesenthal, 1983:116).

According to Opaschowski (1972), leisure has become more highly valued than work in West Germany and, along with the family and friends, is, indeed, the main life interest of most West Germans. He has stated that in the 1960s, the majority of Germans were oriented toward the 'traditionellen Berufsethik, bei der die Arbeit als des Lebens Sinn galt' (traditional work ethic according to which work was the main focus in life), but that a decade later: 'Freizeit ist - neben Familie und Freundeskreis - zum Brennpunkt der Lebensorientierung geworden'. (Leisure had become - along with family and friends - the main priority in life) (Opaschowski, 1972:31).

Scheuch (1983) has shown that more people in West Germany place a higher value on leisure than they did twenty years ago. When asked about their values, Scheuch found that 85% of West Germans asserted that family and partner were the most important things in life. Leisure followed with 74%, then friends with 61%, work or job with 43%, politics, 19% and religion/church, 10% (Scheuch, 1983:15). Several sociologists refer to the growing importance and influence of leisure in West Germany.

Nahrstedt et al (1986) have maintained that: 'Freizeit hat sich individuell und gesellschaftlich zu einem wichtigen Lebensbereich entwickelt'. (Leisure has developed individually and collectively into an important area of life) (Nahrstedt et al, 1986:1).

There is evidence that in West Germany, most employees do not wish to shorten their working hours to below about 35 per week. Scheuch found that about four times as many West Germans would rather work longer hours and maintain their present salary levels or earn even more than at present, as those who would prefer to work fewer hours and earn less but have an income sufficient to live on (Scheuch, 1983:17). Furthermore, the instigation of shorter working hours and two-day weekends in West Germany has led to longer blocks of free time, and small amounts of daily free time are perceived as being virtually useless: 'Freizeit, die in kleiner Münze verteilt wird, mit einzelnen Stunden am Tag, bewirkt fast nichts' (Leisure divided into small periods, for single hours in a day, has almost no effect) (Scheuch, 1983:3).

Since the earlier studies on leisure in West Germany which were mainly concerned with how to make the best use of free time, leisure has become highly valued 'commodity' in West German life. The research does not yet seem to be as far developed as that in Britain, however, as leisure's

influence in West Germany has not been referred to in contexts other than free time.

Leisure value systems in France

In the 1960s, Dumazedier recognized how leisure might affect work in France. Indeed, he suggested that 'at present, a study of the effects of leisure on work is important for the future of industrial sociology' (Dumazedier, 1967:75). Although he believed that leisure was reduced by some researchers to a phenomenon which complemented or compensated for inhuman work, he stated that 'leisure is no longer content to co-exist with work. From here on, it will be conditioning the practice of work itself' (Dumazedier, 1967:80).

Evidence similar to that given for West Germany, above, indicates that according to the results of an opinion poll in France in 1981, a majority of workers (61%) earning between 4,000 and 6,000 francs per month would choose to give up their work if they had the choice, whereas only 34.5% of those earning more than 10,000 francs would do so, the average being 44.9% (Gorz, 1980:33-4). More than in other countries, the French seem to want to maintain a certain number of weekly working hours and thus their patterns of consumption. According to Fourastié, this is one reason why the French refuse to work shorter hours. He has claimed that:

... le désir de consommer davantage s'affirme et conduit non seulement à accepter les longues durées de travail, mais à refuser les courtes. ...Quoi qu'il en soit, la tendance au maintien des horaires de travail élevés s'est affirmée en France, depuis 1950, plus que dans tout autre pays industriel.

...the desire to consume more is evident and leads not only to acceptance of long working hours but also to a refusal to work short hours. ... In any case, the tendency to maintain high numbers of working hours has been stronger in France since 1950 than in any other industrialized country. (Fourastié, 1972:102).

In France, there is a trend towards reducing work hours in a way which enables employees to have longer blocks of free time. Dumazedier, for example, has claimed, that:

... aspirations collectives des travailleurs ont orienté de plus en plus la conquête du temps libre non plus vers la libération d'un temps de repos à la fin de chaque journée, mais vers la construction de blocs de temps de plus en plus allongés pour des activités de plus en plus éloignées du 'repos' nécessaire au travail.

...general aspirations of workers regarding the conquest of free time are oriented not toward creating free time at the end of each day, but increasingly toward the construction of longer blocks of time for activities other than those necessary to rest sufficiently in order to be able to work.
(Dumazedier, 1983:344).

In France and other industrializing nations during the last century, the emphasis was on reducing daily working hours from twelve to fifteen down to seven or eight, but that the aim in the last fifty years has been to lengthen blocks of time at the end of the week or in the form of longer holidays (Dumazedier, 1983:344-345). Hantrais (1986b) has highlighted the fact that in France there is evidence that longer blocks of free time are preferred to more frequent shorter blocks: 'The importance attached in France to 'blocks' of time is a well-known phenomenon: studies show that the French tend to prefer free time at the weekend or longer holidays rather than a shorter working day (Hantrais, 1986b:128).

Leisure values have been shown to influence work and other aspects of life. Dumazedier, for example, has maintained that:

One very often forgets that in industrially developed societies leisure represents certain values, that it expresses certain desires which are new in the history of mankind. These have a direct or indirect influence on the way work is accomplished in factories, offices and universities, also in family life, the role of the mother and father in the family, etcetera.
(Dumazedier, 1975:58).

Leisure also affects the social use of time. Samuel has argued that in industrial societies there is 'une intensification des valeurs liées au

loisir' (a strengthening of the values associated with leisure), and that these values influence every domain: work, family, religion, politics and leisure (Samuel, 1983:321). According to Samuel: '...les valeurs liées au loisir, ...tendent à devenir des normes contrôlant une nouvelle répartition des temps sociaux'. (...values associated with leisure are tending to become the 'norm' by which social time is organized in a new way) (Samuel, 1983:324). Describing how leisure values are becoming more important in France at the expense of work values, she has demonstrated that in the 1970s and early 1980s there was:

... a decline of values associated with work and political and religious commitments and a certain stagnation of values associated with the family, along with a development of values attached to leisure.
(Samuel, 1982:62).

Although leisure appears to be increasing in importance relative to work in France, and probably also in other industrialized nations, it seems that a majority of workers prefer to keep their work and leisure time separate and resist moves to achieve a lifestyle where leisure and work are merged (Samuel, 1982). In a study on how the weekend is perceived in France, Samuel indicated that there is no apparent desire amongst a majority of workers to merge their work and leisure:

Only two respondents in the sample took a definite stand against such an opposition and expressed their wish for a more unified way of life which would encompass both the work time and the weekend or more generally work time and leisure time.
(Samuel, 1982:61).

One implication of Samuel's findings is that workers do not want 'free' or 'leisure' time diluted with work, since most indicate they highly value the weekend, but not work time (Samuel, 1982:61). It was concluded that along with the 'general rejection of work time' is anxiety at the thought that one has to go back to work after the weekend (Samuel, 1982:61). This anxiety may result in part from the way employees in

Western countries view leisure and work as two entities.

Dumazedier (1983) has emphasized the importance attached to leisure values in France by demonstrating that in a French national survey, (IFOP, L'Expansion, mai, 1980), '80% des cadres attachent "une importance égale ou supérieure" au temps libre par rapport au temps de travail' (80% of executives attach equal or greater importance to leisure time than to work time) (Dumazedier, 1983:348). The same survey revealed that '74% des lecteurs de l'Expansion souhaiteraient "davantage de loisir"' (74% of the readers of 'l'Expansion' would like 'more leisure' (Dumazedier, 1983:348).

Surveys carried out by French public opinion research institutes (for example, SOFRES, IFOP) show that in France as in other industrialized countries, there is an emergence of a 'symbolic structure of time' which 'tends to favour leisure time in terms of attitudes, preferences and values'; this 'symbolic structure' may be leading to a new structuring of social time (Samuel, 1983:328).

Dumazedier referred to a survey carried out in France by the Nouvel Observateur and quoted that, if given the choice of taking a well-paid but uninteresting job and an interesting job that was not very well paid, 50% of the respondents would choose the interesting job and only 39% would choose the better paid job (Dumazedier, 1983:347). The number of the former rose where respondents had higher qualifications, but 69% of those between the ages of 18 and 24 made this choice regardless of social category (Dumazedier, 1983:347). The same study found that work was not so highly valued as living according to individual tastes; 32% of the respondents thought that working hard and succeeding professionally were important, whereas 68% indicated they would prefer to live as they wanted

and that work was not the most important aspect of life (Dumazedier, 1983:347).

In a more recent study, Samuel (1986) has clearly indicated the way that the growing importance attached to leisure values is directly influencing work. After showing how in France leisure time outside work has been won during the last century, for example, the eight-hour day, two-day weekends, paid holidays and pension rights, Samuel claims that demands for more work which is more 'leisure-like', that is, where there is greater personal freedom and autonomy, will be increasingly articulated. In this context she refers to more flexible ways of working, such as flexible hours, job sharing, working from home and sabbatical leave, which 'have been devised to respond to this aspiration' (Samuel, 1986:54-5).

Research on leisure in France has moved away from viewing it merely as compensation for work to something which affects every other area of life and, indeed, is one of the main forces of social change. The importance of leisure to the French is highlighted in the literature, and the effects in practical terms of leisure in the workplace have already been examined (for example, Samuel, 1986).

Leisure value systems in Japan

Japan seems to differ from the three West European countries, since although there have been changes in leisure patterns as the standard of living has risen since the end of World War Two, the overwhelming impression gained from the literature is that work is the dominant value, with leisure clearly in second place. There are conflicting views about such a picture of Japan, however, and this section therefore examines the problems involved in trying to identify patterns accurately, as well as

the literature on work and leisure values.

Whilst it is perhaps clear that Japan's leisure industry is growing, for example, in 1972 a Centre for the Development of Leisure (yoka kaihatsu sentā) was established, attitudes of Japanese employees, whereby they 'work hard', and enjoy leisure only when it cannot be avoided, 'constitute obstacles which are difficult to overcome' (Linhart, 1975:199). Linhart claimed in the 1970s that it was mainly young (students) and elderly people in Japan who take part in leisure and that 'the majority of the population takes part in the leisure boom only to a very small extent' (Linhart, 1975:199).

In the last decade, the evidence in terms of hours of free time would suggest that values of leisure are similar in Japan to those in the West European countries. The average person's daily leisure time in Japan increased by one or two hours, from five hours in 1960 to six hours and twenty-four minutes in 1975 (Inoue, 1983:382). Over a decade later, the Japanese are apparently enjoying more leisure time and are spending a great deal of money on it (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989). Little change in terms of hours has occurred since then. There has been, moreover, a:

rapid growth in various leisure-related industries and a vast increase in the amounts of money spent by individual families for various leisure activities. According to a report made by the Prime Minister's Office, the annual expenditure of the average family on leisure activities increased by three and a half times between 1965 and 1975. The ratio of leisure expenditures also increased from 18% to 22% of total expenditures. [sic] (Inoue, 1983:382).

There is evidence to suggest, however, that it is still perhaps only the young and the old in Japan who participate regularly in leisure pursuits, and that members of the workforce in particular work long hours and have little leisure. Moreover, much attention has been paid in the

literature to the ways in which work attitudes in Japan differ from those in 'Western' societies. Whereas West European employees might wish to shorten their working hours and adjust their working patterns due to leisure considerations, for example, the literature implies that one of the major motivating factors for reducing hours in Japan are the trade imbalances that country has with other nations. There is, indeed, international pressure for the Japanese to work less. Linhart, for example, has claimed that the 'working spirit of the Japanese is not always appreciated abroad', the South-East Asians, for example, often calling it 'inhuman', and the Americans referring to 'unfair competition' (Linhart, 1975:198).

Some Westerners appear reluctant to believe that Japanese 'success' and accomplishments are anything but transitory. There is an implication that the West has difficulty in coming to terms with Japan's achievements. In an article about images abroad of Japanese society, Sugimoto and Mauer (1980) have suggested that:

Although Japan's accomplishments are clearly perceived, many seem unwilling to acknowledge them publicly; accordingly, it is not uncommon for authors to suggest that the accomplishments may be fleeting. This equivocal view of Japan's achievements no doubt reflects the general difficulty Westerners have had in coming to terms with the Orient in general.

(Sugimoto and Mauer, 1980:6).

Sugimoto and Mauer have described how researchers who have positive sentiments toward Japan tend to emphasize obvious successes, such as improvements in standard of living, education, social equality, cleanliness, low levels of crime and organizational loyalty. On the other hand, scholars sceptical of Japanese success:

emphasize the apparent failures - crowded housing, examination 'hell', the poor and forgotten minority groups, industrial pollution, various situational constraints limiting behavioural choices, the rigidities of a society structured around hierarchical bureaucracies,

high levels of alienation and political corruption, and closed labour markets.

(Sugimoto and Mauer, 1980:6).

By examination 'hell', the authors are referring to the extreme stress surrounding school examinations in Japan.

Scholars including, for example, Benedict (1946), Reischauer (1980) and Cleaver (1978), have written about Japan in a positive way, whereas those such as Cole (1976), Woronoff (1982; 1983; 1985) and Kamata (1983), have tended to emphasize negative features of Japanese society. Neustupný (1980) has explained this polarization of views on Japan by suggesting that: 'as Japanophiles, many Western scholars tend to see or are predisposed to see a Japan through rosy glasses, making them susceptible to accepting a model which depicts Japan in a favorable light' (Neustupný, 1980:39).

Neustupný believes that some authors produce positive accounts of Japan because they are subconsciously protecting their professional standing in Japan, where they might need, for example, to ask Japanese colleagues for assistance in their research. Furthermore, Westerners who study Japan tend to 'be like Japanese in terms of their personality or disposition' (Neustupný, 1980:39). He has warned that:

While this predisposition may make it easier for Westerners to empathize with the Japanese they study, it may at the same time build in a bias toward accepting the group-orientation ideology at face value.

(Neustupný, 1980:39).

The volume of literature on the problem of bias in studies on Japan suggests that it is a phenomenon peculiar to that country. Similar polarization in Western Europe seems to be rare or non-existent. The fact that it exists in Japan is probably to do with the isolationist policies of that country in the past. Relatively little knowledge about

Japanese society has been available and opportunities to study it have only become widespread recently, that is, since the end of World War Two.

According to Misumi (1983), a Japanese sociologist, and Wilson (1986), a British sociologist, the media tend to propound myths about differences regarding the greater productivity, loyalty, diligence and team spirit of Japanese workers compared with their counterparts in Western Europe.

Mouer and Sugimoto (1986) have illustrated how Japanese society has frequently been depicted in the literature as being 'different from all other societies' and that: 'Points at which Japanese society might intersect with other societies have been denied' (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986:405). The two authors suspect that this 'popular image' may have 'contributed to the construction of an artificial barrier which has made interaction between Japanese and non-Japanese more difficult than it need be' (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986:405).

Mouer and Sugimoto have emphasized two dominant features of the literature on Japanese society, firstly, that it is treated as being 'more unique than other societies' and secondly, the 'tendency to single out the group orientation as the dominant cultural pattern which shapes Japanese behaviour at every turn' (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986:406). The difficulty in communication caused partly by such stereotyping may be a contributory reason for the lack of cross-cultural research including Japan, and is also perhaps, in turn, a result of this deficiency. The media tend to perpetuate such stereotypes, as Azumi and McMillan, Japanese and American sociologists respectively, pointed out in the mid-1970s: 'The Press fosters the image of the Japanese worker as selfless, untiring, dedicated, loyal, and efficient' (Azumi and McMillan, 1976:216).

Evidence exists, however, to counter media inspired stereotypical images, whereby Japanese workers are supposed to be more satisfied, loyal and efficient at work than are Westerners. Austin (1976), for example, an American sociologist, in a foreword to the study on Japanese worker contentment by Azumi and McMillan, mentioned above, suggested that job satisfaction is the same or lower in Japan compared with the West:

Job satisfaction, in spite of the stereotypical image of the Japanese worker as selfless, untiring, and loyally dedicated, is no higher in Japan than elsewhere.

A bare 51% of the respondents, on the average, report positive sentiments about their jobs, and this is much lower than expected. (Austin, 1976:215).

There is a large body of literature, much of it recent, which emphasizes the 'different' work attitudes of the Japanese, however. Tasker, for example, a British writer on Japan, has claimed that the Japanese are 'diligent and industrious, putting in 10 to 15 per cent more hours per year than Europeans and Americans' (Tasker, 1987:47).

At the same time, Rohlen, an American sociologist, has suggested, moreover, that the use of free time has not been as highly developed in Japan as in the West and that: 'Few Japanese workers take all their paid vacations, and managers generally work very long hours. Free time has not been cultivated extensively' (Rohlen, 1983:161).

There is evidence that even with the long hours many Japanese male workers spend at work, they are relatively content. A West German study found that Japanese workers are more satisfied at work than their West German counterparts, in spite of the shorter hours of the latter. Jungblut, for example, has shown that worker satisfaction in West Germany is decreasing relative to that in Japan (Jungblut, 1985:50). In his study, 79% of Japanese workers were satisfied with their work in 1982,

whereas 70% had been in 1974. Those who were very satisfied increased from 20% to 26% in the same period. He concluded that Japanese workers are more content with their work than West German workers, and that the former are becoming even more satisfied (Jungblut, 1985:53). In the same study, it was claimed that differences in management styles were partly responsible for this Japanese 'success' and West German 'failure' (Jungblut, 1985:54).

Woronoff (1982), an American writer on Japan, has pointed to trends in Japan which show 'a positive interest in work' (Woronoff, 1982:74-5). There is a tendency for young graduates to move away from trying to obtain work in large companies, sometimes because they want to become self-employed. The name or prestige of a company is apparently becoming of less interest to young people than is the nature of the job itself.

Work in Japan, according to Woronoff:

although frequently seen as a drab duty, is also regarded as a way of contributing to society or leading a meaningful life by some of them...many young people claim they would voluntarily work diligently 'because it will contribute to my self-attainment even if it fails to attract attention'.
(Woronoff, 1982:75).

According to Linhart, the Western view of the Japanese as being 'very diligent, hard workers' is probably 'the strongest stereotype about them' (Linhart, 1975:198). This is one of the foreign opinions of the Japanese that 'has also been taken up enthusiastically by the Japanese themselves' (Linhart, 1975:198). If given the choice between having shorter hours and an increase in income, a third of the Japanese respondents in a national poll taken by the Prime Minister's Office in 1972 indicated they would prefer to have shorter hours, whilst a third would prefer a higher income, even if they had to work longer hours (Linhart, 1975:205). This is again similar to the findings in West Germany and France. According

to the work of authors such as Mouer and Sugimoto (1980), Misumi (1983), Woronoff (1983; 1985) and Tasker (1987), these patterns do not seem to have changed very much in the last decade or so.

Holidays spent as a family for a week or more are still virtually unknown in Japan (Linhart, 1975:202). The only exception is obon (Festival of the Dead) and the New Year's celebrations (Linhart, 1975:202-3). Reasons for the Japanese employees being prepared to work longer hours than their 'Western' counterpart, include, for example, an unspoken bargain between workers and employers, whereby, according to Plath:

The good employee should not balk at being asked to stay at his desk into the night to complete an assignment, nor complain if there is not enough time for him to take a full vacation. But conversely the good employer should have enough feeling for his men that he does not quibble over punctuality nor demand constant attendance. (Plath, 1964:89).

Plath has also emphasized a trend, virtually unchanged in the past twenty years, for Japanese workers to take either very short holidays or no holidays at all:

The 1947 labor laws require an annual paid vacation of at least one week for regular employees. But salarymen have a reputation for being reluctant to claim all their allotted days. In part this is a demonstration of loyalty, but in part it may be a desire for extra income, since some firms pay a premium for working during vacations. (Plath, 1964:133).

More recently, Tasker has claimed that in Japan:

The official minimum paid vacation is six days per year, and reputable companies offer at least a dozen. However, no salaryman worth his salt takes anything like a full allowance, most contenting themselves with a couple of days each at New Year and the summer festival of the Dead. It is not uncommon for the most committed workers to surrender their holidays altogether. (Tasker, 1987:92).

Vacations are frequently not taken because work which mounts up while someone is away either has to be done on the employee's return or by a colleague, and workers do not wish to burden each other in this way (Linhart, 1975:202; Woronoff, 1985:69). Junior staff again follow the

lead of senior employees and bosses who do not take all their vacations (Woronoff, 1985:69). According to Linhart: 'Most employees are convinced that if they stay away from the firm for too long it would burden their fellow workers far too much' (Linhart, 1975:202).

The same author has shown that Japanese workers keep some days of their holidays in case they fall ill, since if they use their holiday allowance and then become ill on a working day, they will lose part of their half-yearly bonus and attendance allowance (Linhart, 1975:202). As Plath has also indicated, there are promotion advantages from not taking the whole holiday allowance (Linhart, 1975:202).

More recently, Misumi has reiterated that: 'The Japanese people are criticized for apparently 'working too hard' compared with European and American people' (Misumi, 1983:3). He explained his countrymen's diligence by stressing the fact that Japan's main natural resource is its people, and that they work hard in order to overcome the regular crises which befall the country (Misumi, 1983:3). Other evidence, however, as shown elsewhere in this thesis, suggests that Japanese workers want more time off work for the same reasons as West Europeans, namely, to be with their families and to have more leisure. It is not yet clear how much these attitudes have actually brought about changes in behaviour.

According to Tasker, Japanese employees still work longer hours than their West European counterparts, claiming that in spite of the efforts of a government committee set up to try and establish a forty hour week, 'there has yet to be much change in the Japanese work ethic' (Tasker, 1987:91-2). He found that: 'In large companies it is normal for male staff to remain at their labours until eight or later, night after night' (Tasker, 1987:92).

The 'Samurai Ethic' has been contrasted with the Protestant work ethic in attempts to try to explain different work attitudes in Japan and in 'the West'. The significance of this Japanese cultural tradition is emphasized by the West German sociologist, Trommsdorf (1983). She has claimed that the rapid improvement in the Japanese economy is based on two main factors, the import of Western technology and the 'activation of traditional cultural values, and the "Japanese spirit" imposed from the top' (Trommsdorf, 1983:338-9). In addition:

The traditional Confucian values and kinship structure of group solidarity (ie) and obligation (giri), loyalty and obedience to authority, belief in seniority, filial piety and mutual dependence were incorporated in nonkinship relations. Social relationships were modeled according to the principles of the patriarchal and paternalistic family.
(Trommsdorf, 1983:339).

It is perhaps these values, combined with the characteristics of the Samurai Ethic which contribute to the ease or naturalness with which Japanese work such long hours, compared with Westerners (Trommsdorf, 1983:339). Trommsdorf has emphasized, however, how such values benefit the group and not individuals:

These values allowed the government to mobilize the people and to legitimately demand and obtain extraordinary investments and achievements from them. Individual well-being was sacrificed for national progress. Furthermore, these values helped to prevent disruptive effects of the industrial revolution and served as an integrating force.
(Trommsdorf, 1983:339).

There is, apparently, similarity in functions of the Samurai Ethic and Protestant Ethic in that 'both value systems stimulated certain economic and social behaviour constituting a condition for rapid economic development such as achievement and ascetic discipline' (Trommsdorf, 1983:339). The basic difference between the two systems is that:

The relative importance of individual success and well-being is important in the West, but not in the traditional Japanese value system. The Samurai Ethic demands discipline and achievement to guarantee success not of the individual but of the group. In Japan,

the individual is first a member of the family or community; and the primary goal is the welfare of this group. Individual goals are considered to disturb the harmony of the group. (Trommsdorf, 1983:339).

Trommsdorf concluded that the traditional Samurai values have been instrumental for modernization and economic growth in Japan and warned that the ensuing 'massive economic, political, and social changes might result in changes of traditional values' (Trommsdorf, 1983:339).

The general body of literature on work gives the impression that work is more important in Japan than in the West, and this could be because of career competition and a desire to be promoted, or a greater amount of leisure at work. When compared with American workers, a much larger proportion of Japanese than Americans ranked work as being the most important part of their lives, whereas family was rated first far less often than it was in America (Misumi, 1983:62).

Japanese workers nowadays do seem to want to spend less time at work and have more holidays. Using evidence from surveys on young people by the Japan Productivity Centre, carried out since 1969, Misumi, a Japanese sociologist, predicted that:

...the sense of belonging to specific enterprises is on the wane and workers these days are becoming increasingly inclined to change jobs readily if they can find a better place to work, that their desire to advance to higher positions within the company has weakened and that they prefer to live lives suited to their taste rather than to work like a slave. The latest trend is away from 'the image of diligence' associated with the Japanese people. (Misumi, 1983:195).

He maintained that as living standards improve in Japan, employees' work attitudes have been changing in a manner similar to other advanced industrial nations (Misumi, 1983:194), and observed that: 'It seems that something like the European middle class-oriented 'affluent worker' is emerging in Japan' (Misumi, 1983:194-5).

There is evidence that Japanese workers now desire more holidays and shorter working hours, and that they are less satisfied with life in general, compared with, for example, their counterparts in America (Misumi, 1983:25). A recent media report has shown how the Japanese government, moreover, is trying to persuade people to take paid holidays of five successive days, work fewer hours, and be given sick leave (Joseph, 1989:11). The article indicated that resistance by workers to taking time off is not so much to do with company loyalty but with harming promotion prospects. There is other evidence of official efforts to encourage Japanese citizens to enjoy more leisure away from work. Rohlen (1983), for instance, has maintained that:

... learning to ski is in line with the Ministry of Education's new emphasis on creating a citizenry that can enjoy leisure as well as work hard. Japan has become a country that needs to encourage its citizens to enjoy themselves.
(Rohlen, 1983:165).

The urge to obtain longer blocks of free time daily does not appear as strong in Japan as in the West European countries. On the other hand, the Japanese have had to work such long hours because of the demands of the national economy, and because of the cultural and social tradition for employees to work as hard as they can. The latter are probably also motivated by the desire to earn more money and win promotion in the hierarchy of their organizations.

The British sociologist Wilson, in a book about Japanese society, has claimed that increasing numbers of Japanese only take work 'which does not cut into their private life' (Wilson, 1986:156). Tasker shows that, unlike their forebears, younger salarymen, partly because of falling opportunities for promotion, 'are primarily motivated by financial rewards' and are 'keen to develop friendships and interests in the

outside world' (Tasker, 1987:96). Further, they want to specialize in certain work areas rather than follow orders and are impatient to be promoted. They 'see nothing wrong in taking up their holiday entitlement' (Tasker, 1987:96).

These developments have 'profound implications for the whole of Japanese society and culture' (Tasker, 1987:96). With regard to values attached to leisure and work, it seems that attitudes in the three West European countries and in Japan are similar. As Tasker has pointed out: 'The terms of the basic trade-off between the individual and the economic unit are starting to shift towards the Western model. Inevitably, attitudes are moving in the same direction'. (Tasker, 1987:96).

A number of sociologists argue that in Japan, the value of leisure is increasing in importance in comparison to work. Based on this assumption, the conclusion is sometimes drawn that attitudes and behaviour are becoming more like those in the West (Wilson, 1986; Woronoff, 1982).

The two emergent themes are in a sense opposing, namely, that, on the one hand, the Japanese appear to be less willing to work such long hours, and express a preference for shorter daily and weekly work hours (Misumi, 1983). On the other hand, the hierarchical or group-orientated system, where more hours are spent away from home in keeping the contacts going, seems to be being perpetuated (Linhart, 1975, Tasker, 1987).

Another way in which the influence of leisure is manifest in work is that more people refuse to do jobs offering little potential for leisure. Woronoff (1983), for example, shows that, in Japan, demands by workers for more agreeable work have led to difficulties in finding people to

accept 'menial or heavy labor, unpleasant or dangerous working environments, or a low status and salary' (Woronoff, 1983:211). The importance attached to social and leisure life is also indicated by an apparent change in attitudes in Japan, where, according to Misumi (1983), people are less willing to work very long hours and express a clear preference for shorter daily and/or weekly working hours (Misumi, 1983:26).

It is evident that in Japan, although leisure may be growing in terms of a 'leisure industry', work appears to be, in contrast to the West European countries, very much the dominant value. The view given in the literature of the situation regarding the place of leisure in Japanese society, may, however, be obscured by inaccurate reports which tend to perpetuate the stereotypical images 'Westerners' tend to have of Japan, for example, that the Japanese all work much harder than the former, and seem more closely connected to researchers' own observations rather than to empirical study. Further sociological research on leisure in Japan would therefore be required to alleviate this problem.

Convergence or divergence in the four countries

Convergence in attitudes in the four countries may thus be occurring. In Japan, however, it seems that whilst leisure may be valued more highly now than ten or twenty years ago, few measures are being taken to put into practice these changes in attitude. Although many Japanese are indicating that they want longer holidays and shorter working hours, the majority of workers still appear to be working long hours and during their holidays.

West Europeans, on the other hand, do not seem as vociferous as the Japanese about wanting shorter working hours and longer holidays, maybe

because they are relatively satisfied with their lot, compared with the Japanese. This does not mean that West Europeans are entirely happy with their work lives, but that they may perceive more of the elements of leisure in their work than the Japanese.

Recent studies suggest that as leisure values gain in importance, they increasingly affect the organization of and attitudes toward work (Anderson, 1967; Samuel, 1983). Such hypotheses are made in particular in France, Britain and America, less frequently in West Germany, and not at all yet, it seems, in Japan. The difference in Japan may be that there is nothing new in leisure occurring at work in that country, as it is perhaps a 'norm' for work time and leisure time to be merged, but that the word leisure is merely not applied to the phenomenon. In other words, it may be that the Japanese public and researchers automatically assume that all that happens at the workplace is work. This might also be the case in the three West European countries to a certain extent, but leisure research can perhaps show that leisure does have an influence on work.

Comparison of work time and free time practices in the four countries

Features of work patterns specific to the different national contexts are documented in this section in order to demonstrate the correlation between hours of work, leisure and leisure at work. It may be that differences in patterns of work from country to country affect the way leisure at work is experienced.

Since the turn of the century in Britain, weekly working hours have been reduced from 48 after 1918 to 45.5 in 1980 and 44.6 by 1987, including 5.5 hours overtime (Glyptis, 1989:11). The average amount of overtime in

Britain in 1982, however, was ten hours per week (Veal, 1987:17). In 1976, Parker had already noted that, although weekly working hours in Britain had been reduced since the end of the second World War from 48 to 40, there 'has been a tendency towards a corresponding increase in overtime' (Parker, 1976:119). The implication is that during the last 40 years, actual time free from work has scarcely increased in Britain.

In 1983, average weekly working time in West Germany was 39.2 hours, that is, 41.9 hours for men and 33.3 hours for women. 21% of all workers did between one and five hours overtime and 9% did between six and nine hours (Heyer, 1983:156-8). Scheuch (1969) has shown that average weekly working hours for industrial workers in West Germany evolved from 59 in 1910, to 48.5 in 1938, 49 in 1940 and 46 in 1960 (Scheuch, 1969:738). In 1967 weekly working hours in West Germany were reduced to 43 3/4 and the five-day week was introduced (Voß, 1986:19). Average workdays in 1985 in West Germany numbered 220, with 145 days free from work, including Saturdays, Sundays, Bank holidays and annual holidays. The number of hours worked weekly was still 40, with an average of 4 hours daily for leisure (Agricola, 1986:17; Voß, 1986:20). Voß has maintained that in most West European countries, the amount of free or leisure time available weekly is between 30 and 35 hours (Voß, 1986:13). It is not so much the reduction of working hours per se that affects the discussion of leisure, but the redistribution of time, that is, the introduction of five-day working weeks and longer holidays (Scheuch, 1969:739). These developments are similar in the other West European countries.

According to Dumazedier, from 1963 to 1980, in France, actual weekly working hours were reduced from 46 to about 40 (Dumazedier, 1983:340), and in Western Europe, time free from work, that is, free time, amounted

to between 23 and 36 hours, depending on the country. This is similar to the weekly amounts of free time in both Britain and West Germany. In France, the average citizen living in a town or city has about 29 hours of free time weekly (Dumazedier, 1983:343). In addition to the time worked, however, is commuting time, and, as Dumazedier has shown, this was between one and a quarter hours and three hours or more in Paris (Dumazedier, 1974:129).

Japanese workers are usually shown in studies to work more hours than their counterparts in other industrialized nations (see Tables 3.1-3.3). The long hours worked in Japan have been claimed to be a problem which, as Itoh et al (1988), Japanese sociologists, point out, has 'drawn international attention' because of the negative image gained abroad by Japan 'doing too well' economically (Itoh et al, 1988:533).

Yearly working hours are given here in order to illustrate that the Japanese are consistently shown to work more hours and have fewer holidays than West Europeans. Figures from 1981 show that average yearly working hours in the countries examined in this study were as follows:

Table 3.1 1981: Yearly working hours

Japan	2146
UK	1888
France	1742
West Germany	1698

Source: Monthly Labor Statistics Survey for Japan, Labor Costs in Industry for EC, Bulletin of Labor Statistics, ILO, in Woronoff, 1985:166.

Figures recording hours worked tend neither to show whether they are actual hours worked, nor exactly how many hours, including overtime, are paid for. Statistics like this imply that the Japanese work longer hours

than employees in other industrialized countries. The West Germans, for example, are shown to work 26% less time than the Japanese. More recent figures are given in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2 1985: Working hours per year in the manufacturing sector (excluding overtime and absenteeism)

	Working hours	Holidays (days)	Absence time (hours)
Japan	2,192	10	34
Average for 15 Western countries	1,691	-	136

Source: ILO, in Jetro, Business Facts and Figures, Nippon, 1988:128.

Table 3.3, presented in a report by the International Labour Office (1988), includes explanations to clarify the meanings of the numbers of working hours quoted. The figures may be biased, however, by the manner in which they are presented. For instance, although it seems that the West Germans work 14% fewer hours than the Japanese, the relevant figures do not appear to take into account overtime worked in West Germany, whereas they do in Japan.

Table 3.3 1985: Working hours per week for the manufacturing sector in various countries

Japan	UK	France	West Germany
46.0	41.6	38.63	40.4

(Note: Japan: Actual working hours.
 UK: Full time workers on adult rate of pay.
 France: Actual working hours, employees only.
 West Germany: Paid working hours.)

Source: ILO, in Jetro, Business Facts and Figures, Nippon, 1988:128.

Fewer than 30% of Japanese companies operate five-day weeks (Tasker, 1987:92). By 1988, a law had become effective in Japan, whereby standard weekly working hours were reduced from 48 to 40. At the same time, the Japanese government initiated a five-day work week every second week (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989:11). It is not yet clear how, or whether this new initiative is being put into practice (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989:11).

Regarding the amount of time Japanese employees have for leisure, it has been shown in a time-budget analysis that the number of hours spent daily on leisure had gone up since 1981 by 23 minutes in 1986 to 5 hours and 47 minutes (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989:11). Itoh et al (1988) found in a study of 150 Japanese couples in an urban area, that the daily 'free time', that is, time free from employment, of male employees was about two hours, though this was affected by the length of their work time. Depending on work hours, the weekly amount of free time for men was between 21 and 23 hours. There was a broader range of amount of free time for women, with employed wives enjoying only 17 hours, and unemployed wives 35 hours (Itoh et al, 1988:553). According to the figures given above, the Japanese, in general, work longer hours than their counterparts in the three West European countries. Indeed, they would seem to work, on average, 14% more hours per week than the West Germans. The number of hours of free time given for the French was substantially higher than for the Japanese. In the late 1980s, fewer than a third of all Japanese companies operated five-day weeks (Tasker, 1987), whereas twenty years ago in Britain, most companies had such a pattern of working (Roberts, K., 1970:11).

In spite of these differences in the amount of time worked, it is in Western Europe, rather than Japan, that the strongest calls come for even more free time daily. In the three West European countries, it is evident from the literature that employees want larger blocks of free time and more flexible working timetables compared with what they have at present. The West Germans in particular want larger blocks of free time daily, and in France there is a marked preference to have more free time at weekends and holidays. Neither of these nationalities are prepared, however, to sacrifice large proportions of their salaries to achieve such blocks of free time.

It has been shown in this section that the Japanese generally work longer hours than the West Europeans. In all four countries, however, there was a demand for shorter working hours, although this requirement seems less urgent in Japan, possibly due to the fact that the Japanese do not differentiate as much as the West Europeans between work and leisure time.

Whilst Japanese workers might, in the main, strongly desire longer blocks of free time and shorter working hours, they may be powerless to make changes, the traditional working system being so deeply ingrained in their society. In addition, they may want to keep longer hours in order to maintain their income levels, and because of pressure from peers and employers. The literature examined here suggests that there is a greater gap between the attitudes of Japanese workers and actual practice than there is between those in the three West European countries.

The Japanese government initiative to reduce weekly working hours to 40, and an increasing tendency for Japanese workers to take holiday entitlements, may indicate a movement toward West European work patterns.

Moreover, despite the sociologists' conflicting views about the impact of cultural characteristics, for example, the effect of the Samurai Ethic on patterns of work and leisure behaviour, which makes Japan 'different' from 'Western' countries, the overall tendency seems to be for the Japanese to adopt the leisure value systems of the West European countries (Austin, 1976; Misumi, 1983; Wilson; Tasker, 1987). Whilst attitudes toward work and leisure in Japan and Western Europe may be converging, however, differences in actual practice could still remain if the social factors underlying work and leisure behaviour in Japan continue to exert the same influence that they have obviously done until now. For example, the 'social pressure' to give up holidays for the sake of workmates, or to spend time drinking with colleagues after work, is not likely to disappear automatically when attitudes change.

At the other extreme, many authors indicate that both Japanese and West European workers participate in leisure activities during work time and also that there is a preference, in France in particular, not to shorten working days. The desire to enjoy leisure activities, social life and the benefits of a structured day at work, may be contributing to the maintenance of a working day in all four countries which is at least eight-hours long excluding overtime. There could be similarity in the three West European countries and Japan, if workers are found to want to keep their long workdays because consciously or unconsciously, they enjoy their leisure at work.

Recreation activities at work

There is evidence in previous research in all the four countries under study of recreation activities at work. References tend to give only limited details about patterns. Rather than describing the social

variables of the workers involved, or assessing the time spent on the activities, where they occur and attitudes toward them, sociologists tend to make generalizations. References in all four countries to recreation at work, sport in particular, seem disproportionately numerous compared with the actual amount of time and resources spent on it and the value attached to it. There is evidence, on the other hand, that the interest of employers and employees in recreation at work is not particularly pronounced (Parker, 1971:68).

Recreation activities most often referred to in the literature in all four countries include chatting, either face to face or on the telephone, with colleagues, customers, friends and family members, playing sports or games, reading, writing letters and eating and drinking.

Szalai (1972) listed activities of recreation at work which occur in industrialized society, but neglected to provide clear descriptions of the behaviour or of attitudes toward it:

People also enjoy to steal [sic] some leisure while working very hard at the same time - they smoke, they sip coffee, they doodle, they hum tunes, and even listen to music while bending over their desk or working bench.
(Szalai, 1972:3).

Recreation activities at work in Britain

Activities like these and socializing are referred to by several authors in all four countries. In the British context, Brown et al have argued that leisure (recreation) activities take place during work time and 'in ways which are significant for work activities and leisure time' (Brown et al, 1973:99). They did not expand on what the significance might be, however. Specific activities mentioned in their study include card games, dominoes, crosswords and drinking with workmates.

In a study on industrial recreation in Britain and Japan, Burt (1983), an industrial sociologist, has drawn attention to recreational activities found in work, particularly in Japanese companies, but also in British firms. He claimed that British firms provide excellent facilities for 'recreation outside working hours, thus formalising the integration of work and leisure' (Burt, 1983:29). Industrial and commercial concerns in Britain, however, are 'rapidly selling off their sporting assets' because they want to save on maintenance costs and use the land for 'profitable residential development' (Burt, 1983:28). Companies which do provide such amenities are, however, 'among the more enviable in terms of performance - irrespective of one's views of non work-related fringe benefits' (Burt, 1983:28).

There is evidence that recreation at work is not necessarily welcomed by workers (Roberts, J., 1983). Having reviewed the provision of recreation facilities at or near companies, Roberts found that workers are not enthusiastic about recreation at work as it involves them doing activities with colleagues and with the company as a 'backcloth', and both these factors were unpopular. Employees expressed a preference to get away from colleagues and the company to enjoy recreation (Roberts, J., 1983:227). It is therefore not surprising that few respondents in his study actually used the sports facilities at work. Among the reasons for this were lack of autonomy in running the club, the workplace itself as an undesirable background for 'playing' and 'reluctance of many to play sports with people with whom they spend their working lives' (Roberts, J., 1983:227).

Other studies have shown that only a small proportion of the population in industrialized countries take part in recreation activities such as

sports, in their free time. In Britain, for example, sport and the arts are in any case 'minority activities' and individual sports are practised by only 1-2% of the population (Veal, 1987:17). It follows that the number of employees taking part in workplace sport is likely to be extremely small.

Whereas workplace sport is most likely to occur outside work time (Roberts, J., 1983), there is evidence that recreation activities which are more spontaneous, rather than being organized, as sport usually is, are practised during work time by a greater number of people than those who take part in workplace sport. Pahl, for example, has pointed out that a significant amount of time is spent at work in Britain on telephoning which is not work-related, writing letters and carrying on 'emotional relationships' (Pahl, 1985:3), but offered neither explanations for this behaviour nor insight into how much time is spent on it.

Recreation activities at work in West Germany

Scarcely any studies on recreation or leisure at work have emerged from the research in West Germany, a situation which appears to be peculiar to that society amongst the three West European countries. Scherhorn and Eichler (1971) have observed that in West German companies where workplace recreation facilities exist, workers seem to assume that they should be used in their own time, not the firm's time. It is possible that the effects of the work ethic influence employees in a way which makes them uneasy about leisure at work.

In their study, Scherhorn and Eichler found that the most popular time for using recreation facilities at work in West Germany was straight after work (58%), the next most popular time being on Saturdays (49%).

When asked if they would like to use the facilities during the day, almost a quarter of the workers indicated that they would if the time taken would be as an unpaid break. The authors concluded that sports training at work was something the employees believe they are not paid to do (Scherhorn and Eichler, 1971:30). Furthermore, if West German workers had the freedom to devise their own working timetables, they would vary their activities more throughout the day. The two authors recognized the importance of being selbstbestimmbar (self-directed) and that if workers were allowed to use sports facilities provided at work whenever they wanted, including during the workday, they would be able to determine their own leisure behaviour (Scherhorn and Eichler, 1971:31).

It tends to be the recuperative effects on workers of workplace sport and resultant improved efficiency and productivity which are emphasized in West German studies. Betriebssport (factory, or industrial, sport) is described in a dictionary of the science of sport as a 'counterbalance' with which workers recover from strain at work or sedentary work and thereby improve their productivity. Such sport is practised informally or in organized groups during and after work (Rothig, 1977:49-50).

Recreation activities at work in France

In France, the main references to recreation or leisure at work are made in the context of the Comités d'Entreprise, one of whose jobs it is to provide recreation facilities at work, offering, for example, 'activités physiques et sportives' (physical and sports activities) (Dufour and Mouriaux, 1986:140). Since most activities promoted by the Comités d'Entreprise occur in any case outside working hours, they are not examined in the present study.

Recreation activities at work in Japan

In Japan, Linhart has referred to the importance of the firm in (male) employees' lives and that it is usually the company which has precedence over the family. He showed that many leisure activities take place at the workplace, or away from the workplace but with colleagues. Such activities include the 'undō-kai (sports field-day), autumn's ian-ryokō (company trip or excursion), or membership in a sports or cultural circle of the firm' and 'socialising after work' (Linhart, 1975:207). This commitment to the company, and the large amount of time spent participating in events linked to work, appears to be a peculiarity of Japan, and does not seem to occur to the same extent in the West European countries.

Companies play an important role in Japan in becoming involved with employees' lives by sponsoring recreational activities. Several authors have referred to the 'heavy schedule of company social affairs' (for example, Pucik and Hatvany, 1980). Although participation is voluntary, there is much evidence that most employees are, in practice, obliged to take part in these social activities (for example, Pucik and Hatvany, 1980:166; Atsumi, 1980).

The long working hours themselves seem to create a need amongst workers to participate in recreational activities, just for something to do when there is a lull in work. Woronoff has argued that there is not enough work to justify the long hours many Japanese employees spend at work, and that the time is therefore filled with 'recreation activities' such as reading newspapers, chatting with colleagues, drinking tea or playing chess (Woronoff, 1985:69). He implies that Japanese workers prefer to do this rather than leave the office punctually (Woronoff, 1985:69).

The same point has been made by Tasker (1987), who has indicated that although Japanese workers may spend long hours at their workplaces, they certainly do not work for all that time, but indulge in various leisure activities. According to him:

As anyone who has worked in a Japanese office can testify, by no means all the long hours of service are usefully employed. Much time is devoted to meetings, the outcome of which has been decided in advance, routine document shuffling, and strengthening human relations - i.e. chatting. Senior executives spend considerable proportions of their mornings browsing through the newspapers and arranging their golf schedules. Even the impressive amount of overtime is not quite what it seems. If a salaryman has to work through the evening his colleagues will feel duty bound to keep him company, perhaps opening a bottle of sake to help boost morale. It is doubtful whether 'workaholic' is the correct term for the Japanese. A more accurate designation would be 'kaishaholic' [companyaholic]. (Tasker, 1987:92).

Referring to typical salarymen, Tasker (1987) has inferred that breaks are taken daily for callisthenics, where music is played through loudspeakers throughout the company and everyone is supposed to join in, even if they are on the telephone (Tasker, 1987:90).

Other authors (for example, Wilson, 1986:152-3), have indicated that activities such as chatting, drinking tea and playing games occur during work time in Japan. Sorties to bars and restaurants are also mentioned, but, although work may be continued in those places, work time will have officially ended, so such activities do not, therefore, take place during working hours. Wilson has illustrated that in all kinds of workplaces in Japan, a great deal of time is spent attending 'staff meetings, gossiping, playing mah-jong and drinking green tea and spending expense account money (tax free) at..restaurants and bars' (Wilson, 1986:152-3).

Attitudes toward recreation at work

There is much evidence to demonstrate that workplace recreation exists in all four countries. Organized activities such as sport, however, appear

to be carried out by relatively few workers. It appears that the majority of workers, in the West European countries, at least, do not particularly want to participate in recreational activities per se at work. In Japan, the number of employees participating in recreation at work seems to be larger than that in the West European countries, although the reasons for doing so appear to be linked mostly to social pressures to conform in order to maintain 'harmonious' feelings at work, and to ensure that one's own promotion prospects are not harmed.

In an attempt to define leisure at work in this study, the meanings of leisure in general were first examined. In recent times, much of the literature in Britain differentiates between recreation and leisure. The Americans, in particular, clearly distinguish between the two phenomena. In Japan and West Germany, and to some extent in France, there still seems to be an emphasis on recreation at work and its benefits, mainly to employers, rather than on leisure at work. More researchers in the four countries seem to be recognizing that it is on leisure, not recreation, that studies need to focus in order to improve the quality of worklife.

The literature reviewed in this section has shown that, in studies in all four countries, certain activities at work are grouped under blanket terms such as 'recreation' or 'leisure'. Chatting, playing games, playing sport, having staff meetings and frequenting restaurants and/or bars with colleagues and/or clients are all grouped together and called leisure (for example, Pahl, 1985 in Britain, and Wilson, 1986 in Japan). The actual recreation activities practised at work thus seem to differ little from country to country.

The four countries are similar also in that the extent to which employees want recreation or leisure at work is referred to only rarely (for

example, Cullen, 1979). In addition, research on recreation at work tends to be approached from the viewpoint of employers or administrators and the emphasis is frequently on how such activity improves worker efficiency and productivity (Parker, 1971; Roberts, J., 1983; Cullen, 1979). Most of the studies show that recreation at work in Western Europe is generally taken in employees' own time, that is, before or after work, during lunchtime, or, more unusually, at weekends, and that not very many employees participate.

The fact that there are more references to recreation at work in the literature in Britain and Japan than in France or West Germany suggests that the British and Japanese participate more in recreation at work, or are more aware of it, than the French or West Germans. There seem to be two broad categories of recreation at work in each of the four countries; that which is practised at the workplace but outside working hours, for example, sport, and that which occurs during working time but which is not officially condoned, for example, using the telephone for a chat. The literature in the British context tends to refer to the first kind as 'recreation', or 'industrial recreation' (Cullen, 1979; Roberts, J., 1983) and to the second type as 'leisure' (Pahl, 1985). The only references of the review where leisure or recreation are referred to specifically in the context of work is in Britain and the USA. Studies in the English language on Japan, but not the Japanese themselves, also refer to the leisure at work of Japanese workers (Plath, 1964). Although similar activities are mentioned in the literature on each of the countries, there would seem to be no references in French, German or Japanese to 'leisure' or recreation at work. This is in contrast to the stereotypical image of Japan as being a country where workers regularly take part in workplace recreation, for example, physical exercises.

CHAPTER 4 LEISURE AT WORK

The first part of this chapter seeks to demonstrate that features of leisure are found in the work context in the four countries. Literature which illustrates the effects of transferring elements of leisure to work is also documented. In the second part of the chapter, the section on the merging of leisure and work at the workplace, the problem of unravelling what is work and what is leisure in the four countries is addressed.

Qualities of leisure in work

Researchers in the 1960s and 1970s frequently advocated that the features of leisure should be allowed to influence work as far as possible in order to improve the quality of work life and life in general by making work more leisure-like. Work would thus become more enjoyable and satisfying for employees (for example, Dumazedier, 1967; Argyle, 1974; Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; Neulinger, 1981). Since then, there have been changes at work; for example, job enrichment, flexible working hours (Evans and Birkett, 1986) and home working (Evans and Attew, 1986; Spicer, 1988) have been introduced. The main consideration in making these changes has probably been to enhance productivity. A by-product of such changes, however, may be that work becomes more leisure-like and therefore more enjoyable. Many of the writers who advocate the liberalization of working patterns refer to this potential effect.

The literature emphasizes that by allowing employees in industrialized societies more control over time, they would have more freedom, and thus more leisure, at work. Referring to industrialized society in general, Best (1973) has claimed that in order to achieve such freedom, there is

need for 'a greater variety of scheduling options in all areas of work' and that: 'There is considerable room for vast liberalization of work-scheduling formats' (Best, 1973:96). He argued that there is 'a growing realization that people at all levels exert greater effort and conscientiousness when entrusted with freedom and responsibility (Best, 1973:97). Although changes have been made in this direction, there is still scope for further measures which would make work schedules even more flexible.

Best suggested that workers should be able to 'discuss their work-scheduling preferences in more detail' but that this would be influenced by organizational constraints and the difficulties of finding mutually satisfactory arrangements (Best, 1973:99). Work roles would thus become more enjoyable and the need for consumption and compensation outside work might decrease (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:4).

There is little evidence yet that there are many workers in industrialized societies who have the opportunity to make decisions regarding their own work schedules and this is highlighted by recent articles which reiterate Best's arguments, as shown below. In the opinion of Best, management would need to make an effort to structure work in a way which would allow workers more freedom regarding scheduling and work activities, but 'the results in terms of higher worker morale, decreased turnover [of employees], and better job performance would certainly more than compensate' (Best, 1973:99).

Porter (1973), in America, has argued that rewards which employees should be offered include being able to schedule their own hours as, indeed, many workers would want to do this. In addition, employees should be allowed to organize their own time to carry out jobs how and when they

like, 'as long as specified tasks were accomplished' (Porter, 1973:128). Similarly, employees should be able to choose in which area of an organization they would like to work for a certain time. Working from home is an option that may be increasingly considered in the search for more flexible work patterns. The frequency with which computer-based working from home now occurs is reflected in the attention given to the phenomenon in the popular press. Spicer, for example, has outlined the benefits for employees and employers of this form of working, for example, greater efficiency, reduced costs for employers through reduced overheads and time saved by not having to commute (Spicer, 1988:19).

In the early 1970s, Dunnette et al were also advocating that in the future, work should be fully integrated with individuals' 'capacity for pleasure' (Dunnette et al, 1973:90). Refuting the theories of some leisure sociologists, who believe this is impossible, Dunnette predicted that in the year 2001, 'The worlds of work and nonwork will have merged' (Dunnette et al, 1973:91). In 1990, the indications are that this prediction has not materialized, since work and leisure and family life are still kept separate in industrial societies.

The American sociologist, Korman (1977:365), has examined activities which appear to be leisure but could be work, and vice versa. Similarly, a traditional leisure activity which is not experienced as being leisure by individuals, but is more like work, might then be work. He considered the hypothetical case of a research chemist whose best means of relaxing in order to solve a puzzling work problem is to go to a baseball game. The problem is to determine whether, at the game, he is working or enjoying leisure: 'Should he go to the baseball game or should he go to work? If he goes to the game, is he relaxing or working?' (Korman,

1977:365). This points to the need to decide on clear definitions of work and leisure.

The same could be asked in many other cases where employees are at work and are performing work whilst doing a leisure-like activity, such as chatting, or socializing with colleagues or clients. Chatting at work may be work-related and is frequently held to be work by sociologists if it happens at the workplace.

One problem in making clearcut distinctions between work and leisure is that not all of the time people are at work is spent solely on activities which earn income or are necessary for survival. Whilst work is usually understood to be paid employment or self-employment, some authors point out that leisure can indeed occur during work and that nonfree time is not necessarily nonleisure (Neulinger, 1981:116-117). Neulinger has argued that: 'The work situation or the job, like any other social setting or institution, may lead to a leisure experience or not, depending on certain conditions, and the job's role in the person's life' (Neulinger, 1981:117).

Further, leisure has a 'fluid nature' and is not a hard and fast concept, neither can it be distinguished from work as clearly as black from white:

Leisure is not an all-or-nothing experience; it may vary both in intensity and in quality (timbre). Changes in these characteristics may occur frequently or, on the other hand, the experience of leisure may be of a more steady and even nature. We may also shift from leisure to nonleisure states in seconds, minutes, or perhaps sometimes not for hours. Furthermore, since we are conceptualizing the leisure-nonleisure experience as a continuum, we face the problem of placing a dividing point on that continuum. People are sure to differ in that respect, since there are individual differences both in the perception of freedom and in intrinsic motivation. (Neulinger, 1981:117).

The degree of freedom experienced during so-called free time may be variable, and because the two phenomena are not the same it is therefore

possible to have leisure during 'non-free' time, or work time (Neulinger, 1981:116). That perceived freedom 'certainly can arise at the same time that we are under objective, and even subjective, obligations' must be accepted, according to Neulinger, if leisure is to be experienced at all, whether outside or in work (Neulinger, 1981:116).

The growing readiness of employers in industrialized societies to accept that leisure has an increasingly important role in work is illustrated by Neulinger's claim that: 'It is a confirmation of the importance of leisure that changes advocated by management and labor tend to be made in the direction of increasing the job's potential for leisure' (Neulinger, 1981:126). Neulinger recommended that:

Changing job patterns in the light of their leisure potential ought to be included in periodic quality-of-life surveys, that is, as social indicators. Such information would be invaluable both for societal planning and individual counseling.
(Neulinger, 1981:126).

The benefits of leisure in smoothing the way for social integration have been illustrated by several authors in the three West European countries (for example, Parker, 1971; Scheuch, 1969; Samuel, 1983). Whereas the West Europeans tend to emphasize the value of leisure in individuals' lives, in Japan, benefits to companies and society as a whole have so far received more attention in the literature (for example, Plath, 1964; Atsumi, 1980). This seems to be linked to the West European perception of leisure as being something which offers opportunities for individuals to find fulfilment and satisfaction and the concept of leisure in Japan, which appears to be closer to the West European notion of recreational activities, and which does not yet emphasize the necessity for freedom and autonomy to be perceived for leisure to be experienced.

Much attention in all four countries has been paid in research to the

benefits to employers and employees of 'recreation' at work. It has already been shown that the terms leisure and recreation are frequently used synonymously and because recreation can become leisure, this section refers also to the effects of recreation at work.

Qualities of leisure in work in Britain

The provision of recreation facilities has commercial significance. Suppliers of facilities benefit, employers gain from improved efficiency, and employees, with possibly their family and friends, can use cheap, often easily accessible facilities. There are benefits to be had by both employers and employees from recreation at work. This has been illustrated by Parker (1971), who seems to use the terms recreation and synonymously:

An association has been shown between being an efficient worker and participating more than the average in recreational activities, although it is difficult to say which is cause and which is effect. In many companies recreation has become a most effective tool in developing better communication between labour and management. It is claimed that both management and labour recognize the place of recreation in the industrial pattern through the provision for and by the workers of 'wholesome' leisure interests. Such provision is said to benefit the industrial world because it breaks down barriers, relieves job monotony, builds friendships, helps to cut absenteeism, improves community relations. (Parker, 1971:67).

Moreover, workers' 'moral welfare' and 'physical condition' is considered in the campaign for industrial recreation (Parker, 1971:68). As Cullen (1979) has also found, from the employees' point of view, there is interest in company provision for recreation and awareness of the value of 'club spirit' or 'corporate spirit' which participation in such activities can engender (Cullen, 1979:9). He indicated that the fact that workers know one another is viewed by them as an advantage of recreation at work: 'The industrial sector is more intimate. People participating know one another' (Cullen, 1979:9).

Smooth relations with colleagues at work, enjoyment at being part of a group and resulting lowered tension at work all contribute to increased output (Argyle, 1974:120): 'The working of organizations is often helped by lateral friendships, which create additional channels for cooperation and the flow of information' (Argyle, 1974:193).

The value of social relationships at work has also been highlighted more recently by J. Roberts (1983), in his study of 'playing at work'. He illustrated that of the activities carried out in workplace sports clubs, it is social activities which dominate over sport itself:

...in fact, drinking at the club bar, eating, playing fruit machines, playing cards and dominoes, dancing, amateur theatricals, going in coach loads to a musical or revue, using a company's holiday chalet or joining in a chartered air holiday to Majorca were the principal activities of a club.
(Roberts, J., 1983:220).

Social relations at work are treated in the literature as one of the most significant manifestations of leisure at work and are shown to be highly valued by workers in all four countries (Plath, 1964; Parker, 1971; Brown et al, 1973; Pahl, 1985). Social interaction is frequently referred to by researchers as an important element of leisure and the terms are, indeed, used interchangeably, although they are not the same thing (for example, Parker, 1971; Pahl, 1985). Crandall, in Britain, has claimed that: 'Social interaction is both an important part of other leisure activities and a leisure activity on its own' (Crandall, 1976:106).

For many employees, sociability is, indeed, one of the main reasons for working. The intensity with which sociability at work is valued and enjoyed seems similar in all four countries. The pleasure derived from social activity at work certainly appears to resemble behaviour where leisure is experienced. Argyle has claimed that an advantage of working together with others is that 'belonging to groups is a source of

satisfaction' (Argyle, 1974:107). Furthermore, 'The working group is one of the main types of social group, and social interaction at work is one of the main forms of social interaction' (Argyle, 1974:104). Human beings have 'social needs' and that these exist also at work and are expressed 'in gossip, jokes, games and other non-work interaction' (Argyle, 1974:108). Moreover, 'at present our social structure and social order consist of relationships largely based on work' (Argyle, 1974:260). Gossiping and chatting, although sometimes apparently irrelevant to the job, are both important as they 'play an essential part in maintaining cooperative relationships between people' (Anderson, 1974:193).

There is evidence in industrialized societies that measures are being taken to narrow the divide between work and leisure. One of the main ways of allowing employees more freedom and autonomy at work, and thus more leisure-like work, is to liberalize working hours and schedules. In Britain, for example, more and more employees are offered job sharing, changed time schedules for work in teams, flexitime, reduction in overtime working and of the working week, and shortened workdays (Curson and Palmer, 1986:183). Such changes contribute to more satisfying work, as Argyle (1974) has shown:

It is possible to change the working arrangements, without changing the technology, to make it [sic] more satisfying and motivating. This can be by: job enlargement (wider variety of operations). Job rotation. Job enrichment - elements of supervision are included in the job. The pace can be varied by the introduction of rest periods. (Argyle, 1974:34).

More recently, the importance of technology in allowing workers greater freedom and leisure at work, and the influence of Japanese styles of management on British working life has been emphasized by Wood (1989):

Functional flexibility, teamworking, quality of work life programmes and Japanese-style quality circles (groups of workers who meet to

discuss improvements in the work system and their jobs) all herald a new regime of production rooted in the new technology. (Wood, 1989:11).

One of the benefits of integrating the features of leisure into work is that leisure would become less opposed to work and thus 'the problem of leisure will be less acute' (Parker, 1973:81). Parker has claimed that:

Giving people greater autonomy in their work should help in this process, since this is a feature of jobs that has been shown to be associated with a tendency to have a pattern of life in which work interests extend into leisure time. (Parker, 1973:81).

Employees who have such freedom and leisure at work achieve greater efficiency and are more fulfilled at work than those who perceive a separation of work and leisure. Argyle has reinforced the view that the more leisure there is in work, the more satisfying it is and the higher the productivity of the worker, observing also that 'if workers are discontented there is an overall decline in their effectiveness as workers' (Argyle, 1974:223). For work to be most satisfying it 'should have many of the properties of leisure', and 'this is consistent at nearly every point with the pursuit of high productivity' (Argyle, 1974:262). In the late 1980s, Nicholson, in Britain, has claimed that by allowing employees more of the features of leisure at work, such as freedom and autonomy, they will enjoy work more and be more satisfied at work, which will lead to enhanced work performance (Nicholson, 1987:67).

Referring directly to leisure values transferred to work, Roberts has suggested that moves by employers towards promoting job enrichment and job enlargement and to increasing workers' participation in management may indicate 'an imminent humanisation of work' (Roberts, K., 1981:141). He has recognized that:

One of the processes held responsible by those answers in the affirmative concerns workers who carry leisure values into their workplaces and demand satisfying working lives, combined with the possibility in advanced and relatively affluent societies, of sacrificing maximum efficiency in preference for satisfying jobs. (Roberts, K, 1981:141-2).

A number of prominent sociologists support the argument that eventually features of leisure in work will be more important to employees than are higher salaries. Tyrell (1982) has predicted that in Britain, as the separation of work and leisure becomes less distinct, many boring and low status jobs will be displaced and 'More of those that remain will have positive attributes for which more people may be prepared to accept a discount on their pay to enjoy' (Tyrell, 1982:94).

Indicating that leisure can and does occur at work, Haworth (1974) has suggested that satisfactions gained from leisure and work could be the same. These features include sociability, creativity, gaining of self-respect, achievement and earning an income (Haworth, 1974:11-12). It seems that the same or similar satisfactions can be obtained from work or leisure depending on the individuals concerned and their circumstances (Haworth, 1974:11).

This does not necessarily mean, however, that work becomes the same as leisure, merely that both may contain similar positive elements. As an effect of the features of leisure being transferred to work, aspirations in Britain for 'better' jobs are likely to increase, according to Haworth (1974), who has claimed that: 'By job enrichment, job enlargement, job rotation and so on it may prove possible to remove or reduce in many cases, factors such as alienation' (Haworth, 1974:12-13). It may be that, historically, there is a return to earlier patterns where work was interspersed with leisure.

The importance of social activities at work has also been emphasized by Pahl (1985), who itemized social 'events' at work in Britain and concluded that a great deal of leisure occurs at work. Illustrating how leisure activities encroach on work time and occur in the workplace, Pahl implied that if individuals had no paid employment, they might not be able to find the time or means to do the activities as conveniently or at all:

For many people employment is the context in which they reaffirm or assert their private sexual identity by recounting previous experiences or exploring new ones. It is also the context for discussing the previous day's television viewing, for gathering information about social security rights and benefits and on the availability and location of a whole host of local services and facilities. The style and pattern of social relationships at places of employment is crucially related to the success of maintaining the social and physical fabric of domestic lives. Much leisure takes place whilst in employment.
(Pahl, 1985:3).

He suggested that carrying out business of a personal or domestic nature during work time is 'leisure-like' and stressed the importance of these social activities for workers:

Family and social life intrude into 'work time' as people in white-collar jobs use 'the firm's time' to do private phone calls, write letters or carry on emotional relationships. It is very hard to say how much resolution of work-engendered conflict is resolved at home or how much domestic work is done whilst in employment.
(Pahl, 1985:3).

Qualities of leisure in work in West Germany

Although of the three West European countries, West Germany seems to have the most flexible working patterns, employees there generally do not appear to be satisfied with their working conditions. This may be partly because of a lack of the features of leisure in work. Benninghaus (1985), for example, a West German sociologist, has drawn attention to the alienation he claims is perceived by West German industrial workers. In an earlier study, he maintained that such workers feel 'at home' when

not working, and 'not at home' (nicht zu Hause) when working. Work is viewed as being a means of fulfilling needs such as earning a living, rather than as something enjoyable (Benninghaus, 1985:1).

It has been shown, moreover, that West Germans want more freedom and autonomy in their lives in general and that this was more important to them than security, leisure and consumption, possessions and social prestige (Scheuch, 1983:24). In a cross-national study of female employees at department stores in Britain and West Germany, for example, Gerzer (1986) showed that by allowing West German employees the freedom to choose their own work schedules and number of hours worked, their feeling of well-being was enhanced, as was productivity.

In West Germany, as was found in the literature on Britain, one benefit to employers of allowing workers more freedom is lower staff turnover. Gerzer has linked the family-orientated scheme at the department store she studied, whereby workers choose their own hours, with very low staff turnover (Gerzer, 1986:121). Emphasizing the reciprocal nature of benefits gained by employers and employees, by allowing the latter greater freedom, Gerzer remarked that: 'You have to feel good to sell well' (Gerzer, 1986:129). 'Feeling good' is probably more usually associated with leisure than work; thus, by seeking to 'feel good' at work, one of Gerzer's implications is that employees' experience of work is improved and productivity increased.

The message to employers would seem to be that if employees' personalities and lives as part of families are considered, positive attitudes toward the company will be promoted, as well as motivation and commitment (Gerzer, 1986:129). Gerzer concluded that the company:

... also has its own interests at heart; it is important that the investment made in new employees results in employees who, despite their family obligations, are fully able to cope with the job. The key point is that the company is flexible in such a way as to benefit both sides.
(Gerzer, 1986:129).

Although Gerzer was referring to the relationship between the family and work, the flexibility and freedom gained by the changes made at the company in her study are also features of leisure, and so a parallel can be drawn.

Other researchers in West Germany have also argued that more flexibility for workers in choosing their own work schedules would match their preferences to take control of their own lives and choices and allow them the greatest amount of freedom possible in work. Bäcker and Seifert (1983), for example, have claimed that:

Individuelle Arbeitszeitflexibilität, so die Argumentation, bedeute die Eröffnung eines größtmöglichen Freiheitsspielraumes für den einzelnen Beschäftigten, der durch die 'Wiedergewinnung von Zeitsouveränität' in die Lage versetzt werden müsse, über das kostbare Gut Zeit im gesamten Lebensablauf gemäß seiner Präferenzen selbst zu entscheiden. Mit der 'Wahlfreiheit' über die Relation zwischen Arbeitszeit, Einkommen und Freizeit könne eine 'Arbeitszeit nach Maß' festgelegt werden, die sich den individuellen Wünschen einer 'selbstgestalteten Arbeits- und Lebensplanung' anpasse.

Individual working flexibility, it is argued, would allow employees to have the most freedom which would enable them, by giving them back their autonomy, to decide how to use their time themselves. With freedom to choose with regard to the relation between work time, income and leisure, patterns whereby employees 'work as they like' could be established which would match individual wishes for self directed work and life planning.
(Bäcker and Seifert, 1983:244).

General initiatives are also being taken in West Germany beyond the simple wish for recreational activities into a structure which is constantly changing. The emphasis is on improving the quality of life by encouraging 'communicative' activities, such as the formation of local groups and 'initiative' groups - cultural and political - , street parties and festivals, greater communication and contact (Nahrstedt et

al, 1986:1). These are signs that a qualitative change in the area of leisure is desired, in order to improve the quality of life (Nahrstedt et al, 1986:1).

Qualities of leisure in work in France

By transferring leisure to other areas of life, including work, Samuel (1983) maintained that the quality of life would be improved: '...les changements culturels et sociaux induits par le loisir dans tous les domaines de la vie transformeraient le mode de vie, la conception de la qualité de la vie...' (... the cultural and social changes brought about by leisure in all spheres of life would transform our way of life, our conception of the quality of life...) (Samuel, 1983:321-2). She claimed also that leisure values affect not only individuals' sense of identity, but also their relationships with others (Samuel, 1983:321). The effects of leisure in France, according to Samuel, are so far-reaching as to be eroding society's acceptance of time constraints, such as those imposed by work and other institutions and that, as leisure values become stronger, they are more likely to be used as guides for action in all spheres of life (Samuel, 1983:322).

Significant effects of leisure on work, such as the influence of leisure on working hours and scheduling, are identified by several sociologists. Leisure values have been shown to contribute to a shortening of working hours. Samuel has claimed that in France, one reason for a reduction in working hours is that there is a growing desire for a new way of life, 'où le loisir joue un rôle de plus en plus important' (where leisure plays an increasingly important role) (Samuel, 1983:325). Leisure values lead to a reduction in working hours and a restructuring of work time and the resulting extra 'free' time (Samuel, 1983).

Qualities of leisure in work in Japan

Research in Japan on recreation at work tends to focus on its functions rather than employees' reasons for participating and perceptions about it. There is little or no investigation as to whether recreation activities at work are work or leisure, or how they affect work and areas of life other than work. There is virtually no literature in Japan on leisure with the prerequisites of freedom and autonomy.

In Japan, where homes are relatively small when compared with those in West European countries, greater difficulty might be encountered if they were to be transformed into 'all-in-one' centres. Separate locations for family life, leisure, work and education could contribute to the apparent importance of workplace leisure for Japanese workers.

Much evidence exists which illustrates that Japanese workers desire the features of leisure at work, freedom and autonomy, just as much if not more than do their West European counterparts. Since the end of the Second World War, changes in attitude toward work and leisure in Japan are apparent. Austin (1976), for example, has maintained that in Japan:

Hierarchy is strongly negatively associated with morale. The Japanese worker, like his counterpart abroad, is happier with more job autonomy, and more unhappy the more he feels at the mercy of superior levels of authority.
(Austin, 1976:215).

The Japanese and American sociologists, Azumi and McMillan (1976), have claimed that the importance of production by Japanese industrial organizations in the past 'has been at the cost of worker job satisfaction' (Azumi and McMillan, 1976:227).

Differences in ways of working in Japan and 'the West' have been highlighted by several authors. In the early 1960s, Plath claimed that

in the West, leisure is more an individual affair than it is in Japan and argued that the Japanese are less closed to the possibilities of group enjoyment (Plath, 1964:90). In a more recent study, Wilson has suggested that the way workers work together differs between the West and Japan, and that Japanese do this better than West Europeans (Wilson, 1986:153), implying that Japanese social relations at work enhance productivity. He asserted that:

One tradition in Japan sees the office as a glorified social centre, offering an escape route to a more exciting private life. Surveys show that most Japanese would ideally prefer to live in idleness, off interest or dividends, than work. What they enjoy about an industrial or commercial job is not so much the work as the companionship. (Wilson, 1986:153).

The importance of the enjoyment of companionship at work in Japan is emphasized by Wilson's claim that: 'There is a cultural difference here between Japan and the West, but it is about the way of behaving to others at work, not about the actual effort the individual puts into work....' (Wilson, 1986:153). It would be useful in future studies to measure the difference in cohesiveness of workers in Western Europe and Japan and to assess its extent and effect.

There is further evidence that socializing at work is important to Japanese employees. Tasker (1987), for example, has cited the example of a typical Japanese worker in a large company, who spent most of his university career 'arranging and enjoying parties and outings with his friends from the hiking club, the volleyball club and the English-speaking club', and only attended five lectures in his first year and none in his second (Tasker, 1987:89). Tasker concluded that this was ideal preparation for his career with his new company, 'since it taught him the complex art of Japanese social relations, mastery of which is essential for smooth progress through the corporate hierarchy' (Tasker,

1987:89). The people the employee works with 'are family. The girls who sit at his section desk are daughters' (Tasker, 1987:89). In addition:

The salaryman's company is his society, providing the network of relationships that gives meaning to his whole existence. In comparison all other human activities are unfocused, lacking in reality. Private life, as Westerners know it, is merely a basic support system which enables the proper business of life to be carried out with the minimum of difficulty. Foreigners wonder if the Japanese work such long hours out of compulsion or out of genuine devotion to the job. The answer is neither. The Japanese worker defines himself in terms of his company, just as an Englishman would in terms of home and family.
(Tasker, 1987:92-3).

As in the West European countries, the notion of the workplace being a 'refuge' is also apparent in Japan, where the high regard with which sociability is held by Japanese white-collar workers is emphasized in the literature (for example, Plath, 1964). Sociologists examining Japan, however, do not generally appear to make a link between sociability at work and leisure. In a study about leisure in Japan, Plath has implied that the workplace is in fact the most important social venue and that life outside it is dreary: 'When one goes off duty there is a sense in which one becomes socially dead' (Plath, 1964:90). He was referring to male employees, however, and did not examine the range of experience different people may have, for example, women, younger and older workers, people doing different types of work and those in different levels of the hierarchy.

The advantages for Japanese employers of workplace recreation which is practised before and after work and during lunchbreaks, are well known. Parker (1971), for example, has claimed that it not only combats boredom at work but also helps workers to adjust to their jobs and to become integrated with the social network at the company. Recreation is also used in Japan to identify leadership qualities in employees, when they are least aware they are being judged. Good recreation facilities are

seen as a way of attracting employees to a company and are supposed to contribute to the development of loyalty (Parker, 1971:67-68).

Ryterband and Bass have remarked that the shift in industrialized societies from extended to nuclear families may cause work organizations to 'assume the role of the extended family' and that this has already happened in Japan, where: 'Company employees and their families develop friendships and loyalties through their ties to the company' (Ryterband and Bass, 1973:84). This trend is reinforced when employees are required to move to another part of the country with the same company and 'their new company ties become stronger than new friendships with neighbors in the community' (Ryterband and Bass, 1973:84).

More recent studies confirm that this pattern has changed little in the last twenty years. As Burt (1983) has pointed out:

Japanese companies frequently expect employees to pause during the working day - not for a tea break, but in order to carry out physical exercises to relieve fatigue and improve performance once work has resumed. Good Japanese companies, with their cradle-to-grave philosophy, also provide extensive facilities on company premises for employees to pursue their leisure activities from music to photography.

(Burt, 1983:29).

Other sources have shown that Japanese male workers spend very little time at home and use it virtually only as a place to sleep and that even on Sundays, colleagues commonly meet each other to play golf or to take part in leisure events at the company (Hielscher, 1985:3). Torkildsen (1986), a British sociologist, has stressed how recreation at work in Japan benefits employers by contributing to improved production.

Although he suggested that employers may seem to want to give the impression that when they contribute large sums of money for the provision, maintenance and management of facilities, they do so for the 'recreational benefit of the employees', he emphasized the 'claims of up

to 25% improvement in production' due to work being interspersed with physical exercises and callisthenics (Torkildsen, 1986:61).

According to Hendry (1989), many companies provide sports facilities, 'hobby clubs' and even 'holidays sites in some attractive location by the sea or in the mountains'. In return for this, however:

employees are expected to work hard and often late, to take few holidays, and to spend much of their leisure time with colleagues, drinking in the local bars, playing sports together, or going on office trips and outings with them.
(Hendry, 1989:137).

Leisure (recreation) programmes in Japan have also been seen to be used by managers in attempts to 'liberate their firm's workers from the grip of the left-wing trade union' (Linhart, 1975:208). This would be at the cost of the managers' own leisure and free time, since they themselves would 'have to function as leaders' in the activities (Linhart, 1975:208). Linhart has also suggested that since the majority of Japanese male employees spend most of their time, whether 'work' or 'free' time, as a member of their work groups and that this 'provides institutional means for dissipating tensions and stresses for the Japanese individual in the form of seasonal recreation and after-work socialising' then it is necessary to ask in further investigations if 'there is much need for individual-centred leisure in Japan at all' (Linhart, 1975:208).

In a cross-national study of Japan and Canada, Yamaguchi (1987) has shown how researchers of various disciplines commonly discuss corporate physical activity programmes from the viewpoint of how the company can benefit, for example, by enhanced productivity (Yamaguchi, 1987:61). Work groups in Japan are perhaps more involved with the workplace and workplace recreation than are Western workers. Yamaguchi (1987) has

stressed the closeness Japanese workers feel to the workplace, suggesting this is greater than that felt by Western workers. Moreover, he linked this with productivity:

leisure and involvement in physical activity for adults are closely related to work. Employees are deeply involved in the affairs of the workplace not only during work hours but also in leisure time. The importance of harmonious personal relations has been emphasized in the workplace. One purpose of physical activity programs in Japanese industry and business is to improve these relationships. (Yamaguchi, 1987:62).

The findings of Yamaguchi's study emphasize the physical fitness of employees as a result of activity programmes and how involvement is influenced by peers and recreational instructors. Those with shorter travel times were also more likely to participate in exercise. It was found that there was no association between sedentary and nonsedentary work types and involvement in physical activity in Japan or Canada (Yamaguchi, 1987:72). He concluded that: '... male employees who are actively involved in sport tend to be other-oriented, and to see cooperation and group-achievement as important elements in social life (Yamaguchi, 1987:73).

In addition, inadequate leisure facilities away from the workplace in Japan have been said to contribute to the 'diligence of the average worker' (Tasker, 1987:64). Tasker has claimed that:

The presence of hordes of his fellow-citizens, all with similar tastes, information sources and income levels, can make a gruelling experience out of the most potentially pleasurable leisure-time activity. (Tasker, 1987:64-5).

It has been shown elsewhere that the inadequacy of housing and of leisure facilities in Japan 'have left workers little alternative but to depend on company assistance to satisfy these needs' (McGown, 1980:118). In addition, Tasker has maintained that it is in any case frequently too much effort to participate in leisure activities in Japan, partly because

of overcrowding and long travel times to reach places where leisure can be enjoyed and that 'Japanese salarymen know that for pure relaxation, nothing beats a good long day in the office' (Tasker, 1987:64-5).

The benefits of leisure in work

The literature clearly indicates that by integrating features of leisure, such as freedom and autonomy, with work, employees would be more content with their work, and, as a by-product, their efficiency and productivity would improve. In Japan, however, the literature implies that inadequate facilities for leisure and housing and opportunities outside work are influencing patterns of work and leisure at work, and that for many workers, the workplace therefore seems to be a more attractive leisure option than venues outside work. If the dividing line between work and leisure is becoming blurred, however, then difficulties may arise in achieving a balance in life between work and rest, since, as several authors have pointed out, work is necessary to be able to perceive leisure (for example, Brown, 1985:908-9; Linhart, 1981).

There would seem to be strong arguments for observing workers who experience high levels of satisfaction in their work and using the knowledge gained to transfer features of leisure, which contribute to work satisfaction, to many more jobs. The benefits would be that a larger proportion of the workforce than at present could enjoy more satisfying and pleasurable work, and productivity might improve. Currently, it is clear that the majority of workers have few of the properties of leisure in work and that this is one cause of their dissatisfaction. Furthermore, by inserting leisure into work, the need for expensive and frequently unsatisfying leisure activities pursued outside work time may diminish.

Whilst there is evidence of the latter phenomenon occurring in Japan, the same might also be true, to a certain extent, in the three West European countries. The examination of Japan has allowed this factor to be identified, because the situation regarding workplace recreation and facilities outside work appears so extreme there. Reference has already been made, moreover, to the fact that in Western Europe, the workplace can also be a 'refuge'. Where leisure and life outside work are unsatisfactory, it might be that people look to work to provide the satisfactions associated with leisure that are missing outside it.

Toward integration of leisure and work

The literature reviewed in the preceding sections suggests that, in the three West European countries, there is a blurring of the dividing line between work and leisure. This may mean that the dividing line between work time and leisure time is becoming less distinct, but it does not necessarily follow that the concepts of work and leisure themselves are merging.

Several authors have argued that leisure can be experienced at work regardless of the type of work since, according to the American sociologist, Heneman, for example, who was writing about industrialized societies in general, 'leisure and work mean different things to different people' (Heneman, 1973:23). He claimed that: 'Some people seek satisfaction in their jobs; others seek it in leisure activities' (Heneman, 1973:23). The same author has also pointed out that although some observers define work as being something people are paid to do, they are also paid for time not worked, for example, 'vacations, holidays, coffee breaks' (Heneman, 1973:23). He maintained that it is difficult for individuals to 'sharply distinguish work from nonwork because work is still integrated into the whole of life. Work concepts affect society, and vice versa' (Heneman, 1973:23). The same statement could perhaps also be applied to leisure, since, as already mentioned, it can pervade all areas of life.

Merging of leisure and work in Britain

Nearly twenty years ago, Parker (1971) was asserting that leisure 'need not be restricted to non-working time' and that it is the extent to which constraint and freedom are perceived which determine whether or not leisure is experienced (Parker, 1971:28). He claimed that: '"Work" and

"leisure in work" may consist of the same activity; the difference is that the latter is chosen for its own sake' (Parker, 1971:28).

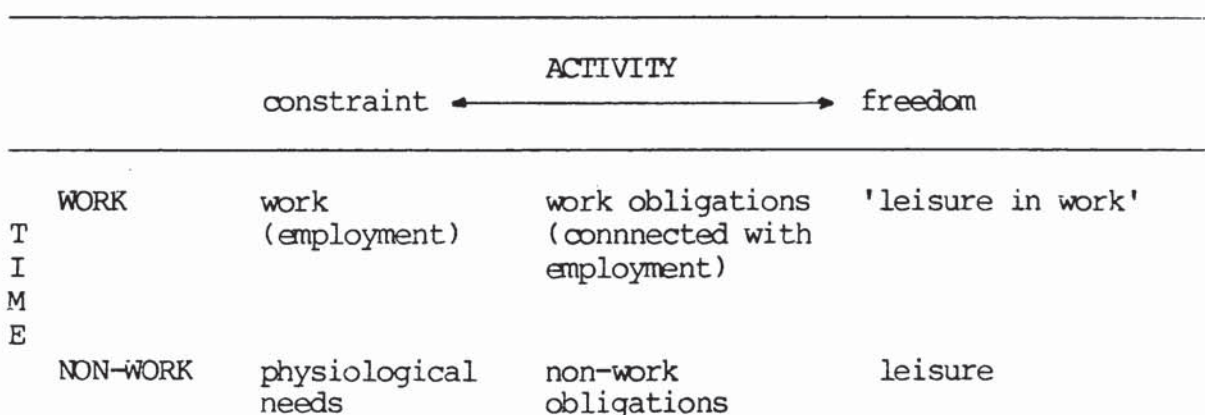
The findings in the review seem to emphasize the meaning of work as something that individuals have to do, and of leisure as something which people choose to do, which, as has been shown, is only one of many possible ways of interpreting the term. According to this logic, if a work or other activity is chosen at work, then this could be a leisure activity, i.e. 'leisure in work'.

Developing the argument that periods of time are not used homogeneously for either leisure or work, Parker maintained that:

Leisure time and employment time cannot overlap, but there is no reason why some of the time that is sold as work should not be used by the seller (that is, the employee) for leisure-type activities, provided that the buyer (that is, the employer or his agent) has no objection, or is ignorant or cannot control the situation.
(Parker, 1971:28).

That leisure can occur in work time where there is the condition of freedom is illustrated in the figure below. This shows how constraint and freedom exist at opposite extremes and how work or leisure can be experienced according to the degree of restraint or freedom present.

Figure 4.1 - Two-dimensional time and activity scheme



(Parker, 1971:28).

Smith (1973), summing up the debate on leisure and work as 'fusion' versus 'polarity', has asked:

are work and leisure becoming more alike, or more clearly demarcated from each other? Are there leisure-like elements in the work which people do, and to what extent do they choose to engage in work-like activities during their free time? Answers to these questions can be found as a result of research within a framework of sociological theory, though relatively little such research has so far been carried out.
(Smith, 1973:70).

Increasingly, indeed, leisure has been shown to be 'unrelaxing', so that people require recuperation from its effects. The potential proximity of work and leisure is illustrated when authors suggest that 'work' could become the place where employees recover from tiring 'leisure'. Linder, for example, has referred to the strains that modern leisure can induce and to the possibility that workdays may be used by employees as time in which to relax from tiring weekends (Linder, 1970:46). This view has been reinforced by Roberts, for example, who has referred in this context to the following argument put forward by Margaret Mead:

to have fun and to enjoy oneself have now become mandatory social obligations, and that work is now regarded by many people as a place where they can relax and escape from the pressure of the new social values which demand that the individual derives the maximum possible enjoyment from his free time.
(Roberts, K., 1970:90).

The overlapping of the satisfactions to be gained in either work time or leisure or free time has been highlighted by Arygle, who has claimed that some work and leisure activities can be 'fun', 'exciting' or 'a challenge'. Work differs only in that it 'appears to have a psychologically stabilizing effect' (Arygle, 1974:260).

Domestic work and second and third jobs also encroach on time 'free' from the main job and, according to Roberts, a 'series of claims have been made disputing that work is in decline, and asserting that time off work

is becoming less rather than more leisurely, and that a condition of "anti-leisure" is emerging' (Roberts, K., 1978:13).

According to Roberts, most leisure in Britain is 'spent at home in the company of other members of a person's family', where the main leisure activity is television viewing (Roberts, K., 1970:16). Research has shown that this 'passive' form of leisure provides minimal satisfaction and that 'although watching television is an extremely important interest in terms of the amount of time devoted to it, very few people name it as one of their most enjoyable leisure interests' (Roberts, K., 1970:73).

Parker (1983) has illustrated the similarities of the game of bingo to the work experience of many of the players: 'it involves concentration and regulated patterns of physical movement, is supervised by someone else and allows breaks for refreshments' (Parker, 1983:84). If the game is also perceived as a leisure activity, because of the enjoyment and excitement derived from it, then it could be said that work activities which resemble bingo in the ways outlined by Parker might also be perceived as leisure.

Literature referring to the increasing importance of leisure in value systems in industrialized countries tends to treat leisure, even if it occurs at the workplace, as something which happens outside work time. Roberts (1983) has claimed that '"play" and "leisure" are most likely to occur outside working hours' and that this is because only the 'most enlightened or doctrinaire firms' would officially approve of playing at work, that is, during work time (Roberts, J., 1983:217).

In industrialized societies, however, it has been demonstrated that leisure and work can be combined. Deem, for example, has emphasized that

leisure is not activity-based and that freedom of choice is relative.

Real freedom to choose rarely exists:

Leisure is itself, of course, not simply a 'chosen' non-work activity. Leisure and work may be combined (the housewife who listens to the radio while she irons, the factory worker who daydreams whilst on the assembly line). Leisure is rarely 'freely' chosen, and nearly always involves constraints. Nor is it necessarily an energetic or definite activity; doing nothing, 'staring out of a window' or just sitting down, can all be construed as leisure. (Deem, 1985:184).

Shortened working hours have been shown to have the paradoxical effect of reducing overall leisure (Pahl, 1985). Pahl thus alludes to the phenomenon of leisure at work, but only in the context of how leisure is affected by changing patterns of work. His observation is useful to the present study, however, since it is further evidence of the existence of leisure at work and also highlights the fact that without work, some employees would have less, or no, leisure: '... as many people's main leisure activity is gossiping or chatting, by reducing working hours, their opportunities for gossiping or chatting are reduced, and thus their leisure is reduced' (Pahl, 1985:3). One of the benefits to employees of leisure at work is that they are generally paid for the time they are at work, whether they are actually working or not. As Garner has pointed out, employers currently pay for time spent on activities which are not productive, and thus 'own' the latter during time that could be spent doing something different (Garner, 1986:125).

Time-consuming but non-productive activities include, according to Garner, meetings where little is achieved, hours spent doing little or nothing in between periods when there is too much to do and office politics, which, she argues, men enjoy but women do not; the latter 'prefer to get on with the actual job' (Garner, 1986:126). These statements seem to imply that if some of these activities, which are more

like 'recreation', and not leisure, were removed from work, then space could be made for leisure at work, workdays could be shortened, in theory, at least, and there would also be more time for leisure outside work.

Much has been written about the 'spill-over' or 'extension' effect of work on leisure, though not the other way round. It is not uncommon for workers to choose leisure activities outside work which resemble their activity at work. This point is mentioned here to emphasize that work and leisure can have similar satisfactions and that 'worklike' activity can encroach on 'free time', just as 'leisure-like' activity can occur at work. Glyptis (1989), for example, has referred to people who choose:

whether consciously or not - activities in leisure which are similar or identical to those they do at work. Contented mechanics may mend cars in their spare time, teachers may become involved in running youth clubs and evening classes, and accountants may become treasurers of local clubs and charities.
(Glyptis, 1989:15).

More recently, Glyptis has stated that: 'Leisure, for most people, for most of the time, consists primarily of home-based, passive pursuits' (Glyptis, 1989:129). It could be assumed that this is the case in terms of time, but not necessarily in terms of actually experiencing leisure.

Merging of leisure and work in West Germany

In West Germany also, it has been shown that 66% of leisure time is spent in the house or apartment, mainly because of the attraction of television (Jacob-Goldeck and Jacob, 1974:203). There is evidence in the literature which indicates that in industrialized societies, the separation of the workplace as a location only for work and the home as a place only for family life and leisure is becoming less clearcut. It is a well-known phenomenon that many workers try to make their workplaces resemble their homes, by installing coffee machines, plants and other decorations, for

example. At the same time, homes are increasingly being used as multi-purpose centres for work, leisure and social and family life. As this tendency gains momentum, the dividing line between work and leisure may become less distinct and reflects perhaps a move toward work patterns prevalent before industrialization. This trend was illustrated in West Germany, for example, in the 1960s, when Scheuch demonstrated the move towards obtaining larger and better living accommodation, equipped with as many machines and technical gadgets as possible:

Mehr Freizeit, das heißt nach unseren Beobachtungen: der Wunsch nach einer größeren und repräsentativeren Wohnung, mit besserer Ausstattung an technischen Gütern. Wofür man früher Eintrittsgeld zahlen mußte, das möchte man jetzt ganz nach Wunsch und Stimmung im eigenen Wohnzimmer verfügbar haben: Musik, Getränke, Behaglichkeit. Je größer die objektive freie Zeit, um so eher scheinen die Individuen mit der ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden technischen Ausrüstung und der Ausstattung ihres privaten Bereichs unzufrieden zu sein.

It has been observed that more free time leads to a desire for a larger and more suitable apartment, better equipped with technical goods. There is a desire to have these things in the home and available at all times. People used to go out and pay for such things, for example, music, drinks, fun. The more objective free time people have the greater seems to be the dissatisfaction with the fittings and equipment of their homes. (Scheuch, 1965:112).

In the West German context, alluding to the hypothesis that the same satisfactions can be derived from both leisure and work, and that elements of leisure are, or can be, merged with work, Agricola (1986) has asserted that: 'Wer eine abwechslungsreiche und interessante Arbeit hat, kümmert sich weniger um Freizeit' (Those with interesting jobs offering variety are less concerned about leisure) (Agricola, 1986:5).

Merging of leisure and work in France

It has been shown that some people choose leisure pursuits which resemble their work (Glyptis, 1989), but the reverse is also true, as Dumazedier has demonstrated in France. He has suggested that some people choose

work which resembles their leisure pursuits and illustrated how one of the disillusion of young French workers is the discovery that their work lacks properties of leisure (Dumazedier, 1967:76). The importance of leisure at work is illustrated not only by the disappointment of employees finding how little there is at work, but also by the choice of work itself. Many entrepreneurs in France, quoted by Dumazedier, admitted to a direct link between leisure pursuits followed since childhood and their choice of profession. Such workers, although a small percentage of the workforce, include café owners, owners of shops selling fishing equipment, goods for sports and outdoor activities, and of cinemas, newsagents, bookshops, toyshops and photography businesses (Dumazedier, 1967:76).

Dumazedier has suggested that leisure influences work in some cases where individuals choose their career based on their leisure interests. Where leisure is lacking in work, he has claimed that there is great disappointment and disillusionment on the part of workers, and asked: 'But is it not the fact that many young people are looking for the leisure possibilities in any job they are choosing, and that this is the source of their occupational illusion?' (Dumazedier, 1967:76).

Research has frequently shown that much of the 'free' time available to workers is spent doing 'work' activities at home rather than leisure. The workplace, rather than the home, could then become a 'refuge' (Stoetzel, 1983; Hantrais, 1986a:368), and thus perhaps, a 'place of leisure'. Stoetzel found that, in the French context:

Puisque la famille est si importante pour contribuer au bonheur, on comprendra que lorsqu'elle devient une cause d'insatisfaction le travail devienne une sorte de refuge.

Since the family is so important in contributing to happiness, it can be understood that when the family is a cause of dissatisfaction, work

then becomes a sort of refuge.
(Stoetzel, 1983:176).

Work can thus be a refuge from life outside work. Linhart has emphasized the importance to employees of the social aspect of work:

Le travail est souvent présenté comme un palliatif à l'absence des autres. Puisque sans la présence d'autrui le temps paraît insupportable et synonyme d'ennui, il est normal que ce que l'on apprécie particulièrement dans le travail soit la présence des autres, le fait d'être entouré. L'aspect relations humaines est central et très positif.

Work is often presented as a palliative for the absence of others by offering companionship, since without this, time seems unbearable and synonymous with boredom. Being surrounded by other people is particularly appreciated in work. The aspect of human relations at work is central and very positive.
(Linhart, 1981:31).

Merging of leisure and work in Japan

The blurring of the distinction between work and leisure in Japan is illustrated by Smith's observation that people's schedules are flexible enough to adapt to emergencies and because work and leisure-time activities 'tend to follow unpredictable patterns'. Further, Japanese workers are not too inconvenienced by working through mealtimes or through the night, and such overtime is usually uncompensated (Smith, 1961:95-6). According to Smith, in comparison to 'Westerners', the Japanese have an attitude toward time whereby there is less emphasis on scheduling activities, which makes it easier to adjust to work life. Japanese workers also apparently spend a greater proportion of their lives with their colleagues than with their wives, families and friends outside the company. Ishida (1971), for example, a Japanese sociologist, has claimed that:

The employees of large companies (and frequently their families too) are so deeply involved in their companies that they have no wish for close contact with their neighbors. Often they do not even know what kind of people their neighbors are.
(Ishida, 1971:57).

In Japan, recreation (for example, callisthenics) is also practised during work time. The dividing line between work time and leisure time thus seems to be more distinct in Western Europe than in Japan. As Yamaguchi (1987), a Japanese sociologist, has commented that physical activity, for example, is in the West a personal matter within leisure time, whereas in Japan such activity is regarded less as a personal matter and as something which is not necessarily done during leisure time. He has referred to physical recreation at work in Japan and described the different attitudes toward it there and in the West:

The differences between individual and group orientations may influence the process of socialization into physical activity in the corporate context. Traditionally, this involvement has been regarded as based in self-interest, especially in the West, where work and leisure are considered separate and involvement in physical activity is regarded as a personal matter within leisure time. (Yamaguchi, 1987:62).

Although Yamaguchi suggested that there is a great deal of group pressure on the involvement, he later warned that it is not always appropriate to apply the 'individualism' versus 'groupism' dichotomy to comparative studies of Japanese and Western societies as this can lead to a critical misunderstanding. Due partly to economic advances since the end of the war, 'the Japanese are no longer as totally group-oriented as they are perceived to be by people in the West' (Yamaguchi, 1987:64).

Recent studies, moreover, suggest that there is an eroding work ethic in Japan, and the phenomenon of 'my-home-ism' (mai hōmu shugi) is frequently intimated (Linhart, 1984:513-4). 'My-home-ism' is, according to Wilson:

a philosophy in which younger workers put wedding anniversaries before work deadlines, and go home on time every day in order to socialize with friends, take wives out to dinner or play with children. They are no longer moved by pleas from senior supervisors about the importance of the work that remains to be done after hours. (Wilson, 1986:156).

The pattern of spending most leisure or free time at home is mirrored in Japan, where opinion polls indicate that the majority of the Japanese spend their free time watching television and taking part in social activities rather than sports and games (Linhart, 1975:203; and 1984:561).

In another recent study, in contrast, Tasker has emphasized that Japanese workers do not believe work activities per se are particularly important, but: 'what gives them meaning is the context in which they are performed' (Tasker, 1987:93). As Dumazedier also pointed out more than twenty years ago, in the French context, it is not work per se that is important to workers, but the fact that they are 'occupied' (Dumazedier, 1967:70-90). Employment for a Japanese worker is neither a 'necessary evil' nor a 'way of paying his way in the world', but is the 'provider of the individual's identity' (Tasker, 1987:93). According to Tasker:

Once married, the average employee spends his evenings drinking and playing mah-jong with his colleagues, not returning home till the train schedules insist. He will take weekend holidays with them at hot-spring resorts, leaving his wife behind to take care of the children. Sometimes he will go to the company recreation centre. If he doesn't play himself, he can support one of the company's sports teams, often composed of specially recruited athletes who spend the entire working day at practice.
(Tasker, 1987:94).

There is evidence also of negative aspects of leisure at work. These concern, on the one hand, loss of efficiency and productivity and, on the other, frustration of workers because of wasted time. Where there are lulls in the normal work routine, employees may resort to recreation or leisure activities at work merely to fill the time. This has been shown to be the case in Japan, for example, (Woronoff, 1985:69). Furthermore, according to Tasker: 'In most companies, family members are expected to support, even participate in, the QC (Quality Control) movements which

help to boost efficiency on the factory floor' (Tasker, 1987:94). This contrasts with the family-centred leisure in the West European countries.

One problem in making clearcut distinctions between work and leisure time is that frequently workers do not work all the time they spend and are paid for at work. The evidence seems to suggest that the dividing line between work and leisure is weakening.

Leisure at work as a reality

This section has illustrated that the apparently opposite concepts of work and leisure can in fact be combined within the same act, or that features of them can overlap, so that it is not clear whether a participant is experiencing work or leisure. Although there are examples of merging from all four countries, awareness of the phenomenon seems to be greater in Britain and America than in West Germany, France and Japan. This is not to say that merging does not occur in the latter three countries, but that the features of work and leisure may not be perceived as overlapping in this way. Observing Japan as an outsider, it does appear, moreover, that the dividing line between leisure and work is more blurred than in the West European countries. It may be, however, that this is not what the Japanese themselves experience.

Evidence in the literature of awareness of a merging of leisure and work in West Germany is scarce, suggesting that this theme has not received much attention by researchers, and that perception of such a phenomenon is not widespread in that country. This is reinforced by evidence elsewhere in the thesis that the West Germans place an exceptionally high value on the separation of work and private life, or leisure, compared with the other three countries.

The finding from the review that the British seem to be more aware of a merging of leisure and work suggests that more leisure at work might be experienced in Britain than in the other three national contexts. On the other hand, this variation could be due merely to different perceptions in the four countries.

Whilst leisure in work might be viewed as leading to positive experiences by workers, where it 'fails', and becomes recreation, it was shown in the review that negative effects might result. It was demonstrated that such activities can 'waste' workers' time and, in the Japanese context, at least, be a source of some unhappiness in that social 'pressure' to participate in company recreation may lead only to superficial harmony and hence a lack of real trust in colleagues. On the other hand, some of these activities may be perceived as leisure, and, as Pahl (1985) has inferred in the British context, a further reduction in the number of working hours would also reduce the time available for such 'leisure'.

The evidence seems to suggest, however, that in Western Europe, employees themselves are not particularly enthusiastic about melding their leisure and work (Samuel, 1983). In Japan, the situation appears different in that benefits to both employers and employees of leisure at work seem almost to be taken for granted, as leisure and work already seem to be merged to a large extent. This merging, however, is perhaps only a Western observation, as the Japanese do not seem as likely, if at all, to recognize as leisure those activities they probably consider to be work, since they occur at the workplace and are organized by their employers. It can be hypothesized, however, that workers in all four countries perceive freedom and autonomy to some extent, and therefore leisure, at work.

Whilst much of the literature in Western Europe refers to the trend toward 'blurring' of the distinction between leisure time and work time, there is also evidence that workers in general want to keep their leisure and work separate. When individuals indicate that they want this separation, it may be because they are equating 'leisure' with 'recreation'. Were leisure to be understood as an experience requiring freedom and autonomy, then more workers would perhaps want it to influence and be part of their work.

From the literature a number of patterns seem to emerge, which reflect the relationship between leisure and work and different bodies of theory:

- a. Complete separation of work and leisure with work being performed in concentrated 'work only' time;
- b. Merging of leisure and work so that separation becomes difficult (for example, given certain circumstances, work can be leisure and vice versa);
- c. Leisure as an essential element in work time and accommodated by both employers and employees.

By examining leisure and work from the angle of leisure, it has been possible to identify these three patterns. The first pattern given above could be said to reflect the theory of polarization of leisure and work (Parker, 1971:72). The second is equivalent to the holistic approach (Parker, 1971:99) to the study of leisure. The last pattern, however, departs from the neutrality theory propounded by Parker (1971:98), and a better term to describe the particular combination in this case, where leisure and work cannot be separated in black and white terms, would perhaps be 'integration'.

Although there is much evidence of recreation being beneficial to both employers and employees, there seems to be more recreation than leisure at work. This could be because of enduring work ethics, and, as

J. Roberts (1983) has pointed out, companies would need to be especially enlightened to bring about the changes necessary to incorporate leisure into work.

According to the literature review, features of leisure and recreation outside work can also apply to time spent in work. Thus, leisure can be said to occur when freedom to choose is perceived, regardless of the place, time and activity. Any activity where leisure is experienced could be defined as leisure. Leisure is therefore seen as an experience; the activity involved and the freedom to choose and enjoy it allow leisure to be experienced whilst the activity is happening. Few authors, however, would go so far as to say that work automatically becomes leisure if this condition is met. For the purposes of the present study, leisure at work is defined as an experience which is enjoyed and where the conditions of perceived freedom and autonomy are present.

CHAPTER 5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES AFFECTING LEISURE AT WORK

In leisure research, unequal attention has been paid to the experiences of different social groups. Frequently, social variables are ignored altogether, and universal generalizations are made. In relative terms, socio-occupational status, or the categorization of people by occupational groupings, has perhaps been covered the most comprehensively. Different age groups have also received some attention. It is only recently that gender has featured more prominently in the study of leisure. In order to assess the interest of pursuing the analysis using these variables, this chapter examines specific references in the literature to the leisure at work of men and women, people in different age groups and of differing socio-occupational status.

Gender

Gender has only recently come to be seen as a critical variable in leisure studies, and much of the earlier literature is gender blind. In Britain, Edgell (1980), for example, has pointed out that 'for the most part women are invisible in studies of leisure' (Edgell, 1980:88). Indeed, gender has been absent from the study of leisure until quite recently. Studies on leisure at work have mostly referred to male workers, but men and women may experience the phenomenon differently, and this is worth investigating.

Since leisure outside work appears to be different for women, then it follows that the same might be true for leisure at work. The literature shows that men tend, on the whole, to prefer leisure activities away from the home, and those which have a competitive edge. Women, on the other hand, are portrayed in the literature as preferring home-based and

'sociable' leisure. Where women's lives outside work are unsatisfactory, moreover, leisure in work may take on a special importance.

There is evidence that the leisure and definitions of leisure of men and women differ (Talbot, 1979; Iso-Ahola, 1979; Colley, 1984). For example, Deem has shown that 'women's experiences of leisure are often very different to [sic] the leisure experiences of men' (Deem, 1982:44). Hantrais has suggested that 'the quality women most often look for in leisure is relaxation, whereas for men change is most important' (Hantrais, 1986b:130). As Deem has also pointed out, leisure and work are linked, but 'not always in the manner which researchers have assumed on the basis of studies of males' (Deem, 1985:186). Women's leisure appears to be different from men's in that it is 'more often of a home-based, domestic kind than is the case for men' (Deem, 1985:186). She has also found that the obligations and life-styles of women ensure that 'for the majority of women leisure has less life significance than it does for men' (Deem, 1985:187).

Colley (1984), a British sociologist, has claimed that the categorizing of activities in which leisure can be enjoyed into those suitable for men or for women, reflects 'domestic division of labour and traditional male hobbies' (Colley, 1984:336). In a study of university undergraduates, Colley found that activities such as watching television and listening to music were perceived to be leisure by both men and women whereas a larger number of women than men took part in visiting relatives, knitting, needlework, shopping, jogging and keep-fit and saw them as female leisure activities. In the same way, 'over 40% of respondents sex-typed carpentry, mending cars, darts, fishing and football as suitable for men only' (Colley, 1984:336).

Some researchers believe that although gender differences in leisure behaviour are small, they exist nevertheless (Roberts, K., 1970:42). The main difference is, perhaps, that women tend to have less leisure than men (Roberts, K., 1970:42). He has also argued that: 'In general, leisure time is not evenly distributed between husbands and wives. Women are very much the second-class citizens' (Roberts, K., 1978:96).

There appears to be an assumption in much of the literature reviewed elsewhere in this thesis, that leisure behaviour in general and leisure at work are the same for men and women. The differences or similarities of women's leisure at work are barely alluded to. It cannot automatically be assumed, however, that women experience the same leisure at work as men or that they have the same attitudes toward it.

It has already been shown in this review of the literature that where people's life outside work is less than satisfying, they turn to work, or rely on it as a place where life can be enjoyed. As women fall into this category more often than men, then leisure at work may be especially important to them. Ironically, women's lives could be less satisfying partly because they do not generally have as much leisure time as men. According to some research, women in contemporary society have the least leisure time and because they have to do most of the domestic work and childcare, their leisure is 'less clear-cut than that of most men' (Veal, 1987:2).

Crehan (1986), a British sociologist, has argued that industry, governments, trade unionists and individual employees should address themselves to the question of how paid employment and life outside it fit together (Crehan, 1986:208), suggesting that the needs of women should influence future change:

... the interest of women, and families generally, should be an important factor in reshaping patterns of work and that the trade union movement and the political parties (industry cannot but be expected to represent its own interest here), in both Britain and West Germany, seriously address themselves to these issues and begin genuinely to represent the interests of women, and indeed of all those who would like to see a more balanced and humane society. (Crehan, 1986:208-9).

In West Germany, contrary to K. Roberts' (1970) argument, Schmitz-Scherzer and Strödel found that gender was the most important determining factor in leisure behaviour (Schmitz-Scherzer and Strödel, 1974:287). The authors claimed that women and men have different leisure interests, in that women, for example, are more likely to go for a walk, or read magazines than men, whereas the latter more often read the newspaper, do the gardening and take an active part in cultivating social contacts in clubs more than women (Schmitz-Scherzer and Strödel, 1974:287).

The West German psychologist, Lehr, has maintained that many West German women enjoy social aspects of work, opportunities to meet other people and to counteract days which otherwise would be monotonous (Lehr, 1974:341). She suggested that the enjoyment of work is particularly marked with women rather than men is because of a less satisfying life outside work: 'Genuß der Arbeit, weil die Freizeit unbefriedigt läßt' (Enjoyment of work, because leisure is unsatisfying) (Lehr, 1974:342).

Linhart (1981) found that for many French employees, work is an essential part of their life in that it offers opportunities to get away from their homes and to mix with people. In a study she carried out on the work of female employees in Paris, one inhabitant of a suburban block of flats admitted that:

La façon dont vous habitez, ça vous oblige à vouloir sortir, à travailler parce qu'on a aucun contact avec les gens... dans les HLM

vous avez rien, vous avez personne.

The way in which you live forces you to want to go out and work because there is no other contact with people ... in the blocks of flats you have nothing, you have no one.
(Linhart, 1981:29).

Linhart has suggested that work helps people to structure their time and that it fills a gap that otherwise they may not know how to fill:

Le travail est en effet le grand ordonnateur du temps. En imposant sa propre durée, le travail annule d'abord le temps dont on ne sait pas quoi faire où l'on est livré à soi-même dans un cadre vide. Le travail c'est avant tout le temps de travail, c'est-à-dire le temps contraint, fractionné, à régi suivant une logique extérieure à l'individu, c'est un temps qui ne lui appartient pas, mais pendant lequel il échappe au vide et à soi-même en retrouvant les autres.

Work is, in effect, something which structures time. By its enforced nature, work takes care of time which otherwise might be difficult to fill or might be empty time. Work is essentially work time, that is, constrained time, which is regulated by someone else and does not belong to the individual, but during which the individual can escape from a void by making contact with others.
(Linhart, 1981:30-31).

Studies on work and leisure in Japan in particular refer almost exclusively to male employees. Those which do refer to the situation of Japanese working women tend to emphasize the unfavourable conditions women work in compared with those of men. This is also common in the three West European countries. The fact that Japanese women earn far less than men, have difficulty in achieving promotion as they are still expected to stop working on marriage or when their first child arrives, and spend much of their working time attending to the needs and comforts of their male colleagues is highlighted in the literature.

Traditionally, the workplace in Japan has been the main social centre for men, in a way that it has not for women. Japanese women, for example, are excluded from company life more than West European women are. This may lead to them valuing the workplace less than the latter, who have more opportunities to be integrated into organizations. In Western

Europe, the importance of the workplace in this respect is probably not as marked as for the Japanese and the division between men and women not as great.

In Japan, women's leisure activities are 'much more limited than those of men' (Linhart, 1975:204). The main activities, doing flower arrangements, calligraphy, the tea ceremony and playing the koto are 'usually not done for their own sake' but as a means to obtain a 'distinguished husband' (Linhart, 1976:204; Woronoff, 1982:132). Few if any efforts are made to carve out a career, partly because career opportunities are in any case so limited. Thus, in one study it was found that 30% of a sample of 8,000 women did no overtime and 'the rest only put in a few hours a month' (Woronoff, 1982:131). Although the women feel that in order to be promoted, it is necessary to study and acquire new skills, nearly half of them spend time learning the domestic skills mentioned above (Woronoff, 1982:132). As most women in Japan want to get married before they are 25, such activities are thus more important to them than their work (Woronoff, 1982:132).

Recently, Itoh et al have claimed that although Japanese male employees work long hours and have little leisure time compared with Westerners, they do not, in fact, wish to have more leisure time. In their study, only 14% of the men maintained they had 'enough free time' and 30% claimed they had no free time at all. 75% of Japanese men wanted more free time and 22% did not want any more free time (Itoh et al, 1988:557). Only about 6% of women employed full-time, 16% of those employed part-time and 36% of those unemployed claimed they had enough free time. 90% of the women employed full-time claimed they wanted more free time. According to Itoh et al, the fact that fewer men than women demand more

free time reflects 'the situation in Japan where housework and community roles for men and women are rather fixed and traditional' (Itoh et al, 1988:557-558).

In 1980, a Nippon Recruit Center survey of the careers of 8,000 women aged between eighteen and twenty-nine a few years after graduating found that whereas only 15% had a serious attitude toward work and study, 49% considered that associating with friends gave them the most meaning in life, and a further 35% thought that engaging in leisure activities did so (Woronoff, 1982:130-1). Favourite leisure activities were tennis, driving, reading, listening to records and travelling. Many of this age group had been to countries in 'the West' (Woronoff, 1982:131).

It is notable that if they had more free time, more Japanese men than women claimed they would use it for reading, resting, spending time with children, doing nothing or doing sports. Women, whether employed fully or part-time, would use the time 'doing household work' (Itoh et al, 1988:558). The essence of this demand by women, however, seems to be that they want time for housework that they can 'do at their own free will' (Itoh et al, 1988:558). This finding could be because of the gender of the authors, or that Japanese women are 'socialized' into saying they want to spend their free time doing housework. If they had longer periods of free time, however, for instance, a two to three week annual holiday, the preference of the majority of men and women was to travel on vacation (Itoh et al, 1988:560).

Some authors, for example, Clark (1979), a British sociologist, have suggested that the attitude of Japanese women toward leisure at work is symbolic of the way they devalue work. It is argued that in reality,

few Japanese women will proceed into a career or be promoted, however hard and conscientiously they work. Thus, as they continue not to work as hard as they are able, believing perhaps that they would not be rewarded if they did, employers continue to assume that women workers in Japan do not take work seriously and should not be promoted. According to Clark (1979), Japanese women do not even need to compete at work because there is no chance anyway of future rewards for hard work or unusual talent: '...women were able to regard authority lightly...girls frequently came late for work...or disappeared into the office kitchen when their sections were particularly busy' (Clark, 1979:208). Clark concluded that the work situation is a: 'reflection of the position of women in Japanese society' (Clark, 1979:208).

Moreover, when women do participate in recreation or sport at work, they have been found to do so because they enjoy it, and not in order to 'build group harmony' as in the case of men. Yamaguchi, for example, observed that female employees participate in sport at the workplace not for reasons of 'group orientation', but because they enjoyed the sport itself (Yamaguchi, 1987:71).

Woronoff has claimed that should a woman in Japan show interest in being promoted, and apparently most do not, then:

they will stand out noticeably and attract a not always positive attention. They will also become the subject of criticism as to how poor managers women are, that they would not know how to deal with major problems, and so on. It is also clear to all concerned that it is not easy for women to give instructions to men. It is even more unthinkable for a woman to give orders to a man than for a younger man to give orders to an older one. (Woronoff, 1982:135).

The function of women workers in Japan, furthermore, according to Tasker:

lies not in the series of simple errands they perform - photocopying, filing, coffee-making - but in the atmosphere that they provide, and the sense of comfort they inspire in guests. Essentially they are

decoration, like the various elevator and escalator girls in the department stores. They also represent a valuable fringe benefit for male employees too busy to go far afield in search of prospective mates! ...recruitment policies play due emphasis on looks and elegance.
(Tasker, 1987:103).

Kumazawa and Yamada (1989) have highlighted the problems facing women in Japan regarding work, claiming that they are 'virtually excluded from the lifelong career ladder' and that:

Most of them are assigned clerical or miscellaneous tasks ancillary to those of males in white-collar departments, unskilled or semi-skilled routine jobs on manufacturing shop-floors and are expected to retire when they marry or have their first baby.
(Kumazawa and Yamada, 1989:109-110).

Leisure at work may have negative effects on women's work in Japan as it could perpetuate the idea that women are not serious about work and prefer to have leisure, get married and leave the company. Woronoff has claimed that unambitious women tend to ostracize 'career women', criticize and antagonize them, and try to persuade them not to work so hard. Working to be successful in a career is made even more difficult when the majority of the female workers are 'relaxing, chatting, or preparing for a pleasant lunch or evening in town' (Woronoff, 1982:136). It could be said that the situation of women's leisure in Japan reflects their social standing, as in other countries, but perhaps even more so.

Age

In Japan, younger employees tend to copy their seniors' example, and thus also conform to social pressures, by staying at their workplaces longer than is necessary to carry out their work. Failure to conform would draw adverse attention to themselves, perhaps jeopardizing promotion opportunities (Woronoff, 1985:69).

Other evidence suggests, however, that younger Japanese workers now tend not to do more work than they are told to do and that, although they work hard they do now try to avoid socializing, especially the 'shop talk' sessions with colleagues in bars after work (Wilson, 1986:156). The American sociologist, Cole (1976), has suggested that in Japan:

the contemporary workers' more casual attitude toward work and greater commitment toward leisure will have a lasting impact on future industrial relations as well as high work motivation of Japanese employees.
(Cole, 1976:203).

The changing attitudes of younger Japanese are emphasized by Woronoff, who has claimed that since the 1960s, Japanese workers who valued home life above work life began to outnumber the traditional 'work-horse types'. Employees began to be more motivated to work because of personal need, for example, to pay off mortgages, than by the loyalty of an older generation of workers (Woronoff, 1983:202). Such attitudes are said to be held increasingly by the young in Japan, 'whose thinking is moving away from the traditional work-centred ethic' (Inoue, 1984:382). Inoue has claimed, furthermore, that: 'The view of leisure as subordinate to work or as a means of refreshing physical energies for work has become obsolete' (Inoue, 1984:382).

During the 1970s, the 'mai hōmu' (my home) type began to be outnumbered by the 'nyū famirii' (new family) group. These younger Japanese workers see the family as the centre of their lives, rather than work or the company (Woronoff, 1983:202-3). This shift in emphasis is claimed to have occurred in Japan since the 1950s 'when TV and electronic gadgets first made evenings at home more tempting' (Wilson, 1986:156). Woronoff has suggested that the diminishing importance of work, along with the belief of those who are too young to have known the privations of war and

early post-war years in the right to a prosperous life, the high frequency of television watching and its influence, the 'shirake sedai', that is, 'reactionless youth', who show little enthusiasm for work nor family life, has led to a 'unique' generation in Japan, the first one without the qualities of 'will' or 'discipline' (Woronoff, 1983:204-5).

Socio-occupational status

The findings in the 1970s that few jobs in industrialized societies contained many elements of leisure, and were therefore not very satisfying, do not seem to have altered significantly in the last two decades. Mills, for example, compared the leisure at work of 'the lucky few' who mostly do creative work, with the lack of leisure at work for the 'masses':

Such joy as creative work may carry is more and more limited to a small minority. For the white-collar masses, as for wage earners generally, work seems to serve neither God nor whatever they may experience as divine in themselves. In them there is no taut will-to-work, and few positive gratifications from their daily round. (Mills, 1973:9).

Much evidence indicates that most workers in industrialized societies have work with few of the features of leisure. Some authors, however, point out that it is certain minority groups of workers, such as craftsmen, people in particular professions, for example, surgery, those in more senior positions, and those who have no financial necessity to work, who enjoy the most leisure at work. For these individuals, work can frequently be perceived as being leisure. They make up, however, only a small fraction of the total workforce. By examining the leisure at work of these groups, however, it can be seen how leisure is incorporated into work.

In Britain, Haworth (1984) has referred to the desirability of identifying people who perceive intrinsic rewards in routine daily situations in order to 'reveal the dynamics of the '"autotelic" or intrinsically motivated person', since these are present in psychologically well or 'happy' individuals (Haworth, 1984:210). It may therefore be useful to carry out further investigations of people who enjoy leisure in work, as well as work itself. The knowledge gained on 'how to have leisure at work' could then be passed on to others. Neulinger has suggested that it would not be too difficult to remove jobs at the lower end of the scale which offer the least opportunities for leisure at work (Neulinger, 1981).

Some measures are being taken in Western industrial societies to include more leisure at work. Such changes, however, are less evident in Japan. Argyle (1974) has suggested, moreover, that work should be made 'even more like leisure' by modifying its character so that it provides maximum satisfaction, and incorporates 'as many of the properties of leisure as possible' (Argyle, 1974:261).

Csikszentmihalyi has suggested that one way to make work roles in industrialized societies more enjoyable is to examine jobs which already contain elements of leisure: 'By understanding what makes these leisure activities and satisfying jobs enjoyable, we hoped we might also learn how to decrease dependence on extrinsic rewards in other areas of life as well (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:5). He sought to show that jobs can 'provide intrinsically rewarding experiences' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:123-4), but used as an example of a profession which has high socio-economic status and thus cannot be representative of the majority of workers. The profession he examined was surgery, and, although

recognizing that it has serious elements involving life and death, he claimed that it was 'experienced as enjoyable for the same reason that "leisure" activities are enjoyable' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:124). Nearly all the 21 surgeons he interviewed described surgery as: '"fun", "exciting", "aesthetically pleasing", "dramatic and very satisfying", "like taking narcotics" and so on'. Csikszentmihalyi demonstrated the similarity between the surgeons' joy and that of someone enjoying leisure: 'In effect, curing the patient seems to be important as part of the feedback to the surgeon's activity, like a score in a tennis match, rather than an extrinsic goal' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:126).

Most of the surgeons in his study claimed they would rather do surgery for low pay 'than anything else for any amount of money', and were: 'almost totally involved with their work primarily because they enjoy the activity itself' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:126). Many of the surgeons used analogies from active leisure pursuits such as skiing, climbing, tennis and so on to describe how they feel when doing a complex operation (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:129). Most claimed they were often unaware of time, so engrossed were they in the work and that usually time passed very quickly (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:132). Another important element was that of feeling in control of what they are doing and enjoying that aspect of the work (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:134).

Csikszentmihalyi concluded from interviews with the surgeons, that 'the experience of flow, which we found in leisure activities, can also be found in work' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:137). He suggested that the dichotomy between work and leisure is therefore unnecessary and claims that perhaps most occupations 'can be made to provide intrinsic rewards if the activity is restructured, either from above or by the person

himself, so that it can produce a flow experience' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:137).

Argyle has also suggested that people who enjoy the freedom and autonomy of choice in the work they do enjoy leisure at work, and that: 'The work of academics, artists, writers and others is indistinguishable from their leisure' (Argyle, 1974:126), although they may dispute that work should be described as leisure.

It cannot be assumed from such evidence, however, that senior level workers in all industrialized countries have the same experience of leisure and work. Nationality also seems to play a role in determining work and leisure practices. Child and Macmillan, for example, have noted that in comparison with American and Japanese managers, the amount of free time of British managers is 'relatively generous' (Child and Macmillan, 1973:121).

Elsewhere it has been claimed that if work occupies a person happily then it is also play. As craftsmen have the opportunity for self-expression at the same time as creation of value, they can be 'at work and play in the same act' (Mills, 1973:12). The craftsman's work is the central pivot around which life revolves: 'he does not flee from work into a separate sphere of leisure; he brings to his non-working hours the values and qualities developed and employed in his working time' (Mills, 1973:12-13). In order to be as productive as possible, the craftsman intersperses periods of leisure into work time, thus bringing back into work 'those sensitivities he would not gain in periods of high, sustained tension necessary for solid work' (Mills, 1973:13).

Although leisure at work might be experienced by workers at all levels of the hierarchy, Argyle has suggested that employees in high positions in particular:

have no set hours of work, their social activities are bound up with their work, and they often have no clear leisure activities apart from their work - it would be difficult to classify professional social occasions such as conferences as either work or leisure. Similar considerations apply to many managers, whose worklife includes lunches and other agreeable social gatherings, and whose leisure includes entertaining colleagues and clients. Leisure values can be found in the working life of clerical and manual workers - in long coffee breaks, informal social groupings, and general fooling about. (Argyle, 1974:261).

Neulinger has pointed out that most people in industrialized societies have now reached a standard of living that enables them to view their job as more than a means to satisfy subsistence needs (Neulinger, 1981:125). He also stated that certain groups of workers in industrialized societies appear to enjoy many of the features of leisure at work, compared with other sectors of the community, as previously suggested. They include craftsmen and a minority of workers who are 'at the upper end of the scale', and 'do not have to worry at all about earning a living, or providing for daily subsistence needs' (Neulinger, 1981:125). He has further observed that people in this category choose to work; they also have the choice not to work. They apparently choose work that is interesting or exciting and are thus likely to experience leisure at work. Their job is even 'their primary source of leisure experience' (Neulinger, 1981:125) and the 'independent' group has the least free time away from their jobs but that they 'enjoy more leisure than any other group on their job' (Neulinger, 1981:126).

In a study of directors on boards of several British companies, it was found that when they wrote daily diaries, clear differentiation of units of time were evident but the reality was seen to be 'much more muddled

and ambiguous' (Pahl, 1985:3).. It was frequently unclear whether they were at work or leisure, since:

'Work' would be done whilst ostensibly engaged in 'social' activities and the greatest peace for creative thinking was often most likely to be available whilst the director was being driven to and from work or on the route from the office to the airport. Sometimes we were hard pressed to know at what time the work of these men began or ended. Certainly they were unsure themselves.
(Pahl, 1985:3).

Such workers, according to Neulinger, frequently in positions of leadership, do not make or are unable to make a distinction between work of this kind where there is so much freedom and work where there is far less freedom. It is this difference in perception of work which may, he argues, largely account for the 'persistence of the work ethic and its exhortation by such leaders' (Neulinger, 1981:126).

It is not only senior workers who enjoy leisure at work, however. In studies of blue-collar workers, it has been shown that social relationships at work are highly valued by workers. Brown et al, for example, have claimed that: 'We do not doubt that work-place social relations form an important part of shipyard workers' lives' (Brown et al, 1973:98). Leisure at work is a part of social relations at work and it is these which 'come to have a link with workers' values, attitudes and actions' (Brown et al, 1973:103). The mobility of the shipworkers and the layout of shipyards and ships ensure that: 'Many opportunities exist for the making or taking of leisure at work' (Brown et al, 1973:103). Such social activities lead to the formation of sociable groupings that: 'retain identities over time and become an important "work satisfaction" in their own right' (Brown et al, 1973:103). A quarter of the workers interviewed in the same study answered that the aspect they liked most about working was their social relations at the yard with workmates and friends (Brown et al, 1973:107).

Although Brown et al's study is about shipyard workers, their findings, as they pointed out, also apply to other industries and types of employment. They claimed that the concept of leisure and social life at work: 'has a significance wider than a specific industry or region' (Brown et al, 1973:108).

The importance attached to social relations appears to be that of enjoyment and pleasure, characteristics usually associated with leisure rather than with work. Brown et al observed that the shipbuilders are aware of and enjoy their leisure/sociability at work: 'Certainly shipbuilding workers talk about their 'leisure-at-work'; they take great pleasure in the social relations at the yard, and this clearly emerges in the yard' (Brown et al, 1973:108).

As shown above, it is not recreation activities per se which are enjoyed by the workers, but rather social relations amongst employees which are the main focus of leisure at work. Leisure, according to Brown et al, cannot be described only by 'reference to specific activities, hobbies or pastimes' (Brown et al, 1973:102).

The increasing value of leisure has the effect of encouraging people to refuse working conditions which preclude opportunities for leisure. Referring to leisure and social life at work as 'occupational culture', Brown et al have suggested that:

...the 'occupational culture' of workers will become stronger, or at least be made more public, as leisure-taking at work comes less and less to be regarded as illicit or improper, and as the Protestant ethic loses its force in our society as a system of values. (Brown et al, 1973:109).

Socio-economic variables and leisure at work

It seems from the literature that the only social variable that has been taken into account in studies on leisure at work is that of socio-occupational status. The articles quoted tended to focus mainly on either blue collar workers or high ranking, professional or artistic workers, although Argyle's (1974) study was an exception to this. Apart from the unusual case of the surgeons in Csikszentmihalyi's study, none of the writers examined in detail the leisure at work of the workers they were observing, nor did they highlight the differences that may occur for different categories of workers. There were no references specifically to age in conjunction with leisure at work, and although there is a growing body of literature on women's leisure, none of it yet seems to have covered the leisure at work of women in depth. In the analysis of the present study, the literature is drawn upon, however, to support findings which highlight the experiences of leisure at work of the three social categories referred to in this section.

CONCLUSION TO PART 1

From the literature review it can be deduced that leisure and work, after being separated during the process of industrialization, could now be merging. There are some national differences in the extent to which this may be happening.

The different meanings attached to leisure and leisure at work in the four countries may reflect different perceptions and realities. Apart from studies on Japan by foreign sociologists, only the literature on the British context referred to leisure at work. In the other three countries, recreation was alluded to, but the German, French and Japanese words for leisure (Freizeit, loisir and yoka, respectively) did not appear in studies about those countries. Instead, different terminology was used, for example, Betriebssport (industrial recreation) in West Germany, and activités sportives (sporting activities) (Dufour and Mouriaux, 1986:140) in France. In Japan, examples of recreation activities were given, such as callisthenics, or drinking tea, but sociologists writing in English did refer to leisure in this context.

There is some evidence to suggest that qualities of leisure experience may be sought in work or could be transferred to it. The literature review suggests that measures are being taken in the West European countries to transfer features of leisure to work. These are allowing greater flexibility of work scheduling, and more freedom of workers to choose when they work. The studies of Argyle (1974), Neulinger (1981) and Haworth (1984) highlight those areas where work itself can be a leisure experience if the prerequisites of leisure, that is, freedom and autonomy, are present, suggesting that patterns like this could become more widespread if appropriate measures were taken to include leisure in

work. This approach presupposes virtual acceptance that leisure can be experienced whatever the activity or context, including work.

In the case of leisure and leisure at work, it seems that Japan is in the unusual situation in current times of wanting to learn from the West, rather than the other way round. Indeed, the nature of information exchange is perhaps more reciprocal compared with that concerning business practice, for example, where it has been shown that the learning from another country has been 'one-way', that is, from Japan to the West (Vogel, 1982). The literature review indicates that Westerners traditionally have had difficulty in accepting 'lessons' from Japan (Vogel, 1982), although it is possible that learning in the case of leisure at work may be of a more mutual nature.

National differences emerge in particular in the degree to which changes may be taking place. The literature seems to suggest that employees in all four countries would like to have more of the features of leisure in their work, and therefore convergence may be occurring at an attitudinal level. In contrast, the actual pace with which changes are taking place to accommodate these attitudes appears to differ from country to country. Whilst attitudes may be similar in the four countries, divergence could be occurring on a practical level.

Japan emerges as the odd one out in a number of respects. This may be because of the cultural bias referred to in Chapter 3, or because of real differences. This is worth further investigation to see whether these impressions are well-founded.

It is clear from the literature review, that, in general, sociability at work is held by workers in all four countries to be an extremely

important part of their work. Furthermore, several researchers identify socializing at work as being leisure. The volume of literature on the importance of socializing at work for the Japanese, particularly given the references to the phenomenon of the company resembling the family in Japan, seems to suggest that this aspect is even more important for them than for workers in the three West European countries.

It has been shown that, in all four countries, there are times when work becomes the main, or the only, place where leisure is experienced, and that this is often in the guise of sociability. Although work is obviously important for so many workers, partly perhaps because of the opportunities for leisure and socializing that it provides, there is evidence that work values are declining in importance in industrialized countries relative to leisure values.

Leisure is frequently linked with sociability. Much socializing takes place at home, and it has been shown that most leisure time is spent there, in the three West European countries at least. Just as people enjoy leisure at home, it may be that work could become more enjoyable if it resembled the home situation more closely, and could also be a substitute for it. In Japan, the workplace already seems to be regarded as 'home', to a certain extent, and therefore work in Japan perhaps has more of the features of leisure than that in Western Europe.

The phenomena of recreation and sociability at work are usually treated together in studies on work or on leisure at work. This has made it difficult to differentiate between recreation and leisure in the form of sociability at work and to determine how employees value the two phenomena.

A generalization frequently alluded to in the literature is that sociability at work is more highly valued in Japan than in Western Europe, which may contribute to the ability or willingness of the Japanese to work long hours and during holidays. The importance of group activities compared with individual achievements or satisfactions is emphasized in the literature, as are the cultural traditions in Japan which are assumed to influence this attitude. There is evidence that the Japanese only join groups because it serves their personal interests to do so (Woronoff, 1985).

The latter argument implies, for example, that Japanese employees endure long working hours and few holidays not so much because of allegiance to the work group, but because non-conformism would cause them problems such as ostracism from the group, unpleasant in itself but also leading perhaps to withdrawal of promotion or other benefits.

The paradoxes and implications in the literature that Japanese employees only appear to enjoy social relations at work because of external pressures make it difficult to assess how much they value sociability and leisure at work compared with West Europeans. Similarly, it is hard to see how the phenomena are affecting work in Japan.

Whilst there is a large body of research showing that Japanese workers are less than satisfied with their working lives (Azumi and McMillan, 1976; Woronoff, 1985), none of the available evidence seems to prove conclusively that work behaviour patterns are altering in Japan as a result of changes in attitude. In Western Europe, on the other hand, it seems that attempts are being made to implement measures which render work more leisure-like, such as the introduction and extension of flexible working hours and of autonomy at work (Gerzer, 1986).

Although changes might appear similar on the surface, however, other factors, notably cultural traditions, may alter the speed at which Japanese aspirations are transformed, if at all, into actual behaviour change. There are parallels to the Japanese situation in Western Europe where, on the one hand, leisure seems to be increasing in importance in value systems and, on the other, work appears in practice to retain greater importance in comparison with leisure for many people.

That leisure, given the perceived freedom and autonomy necessary, influences and can enhance work and thus life in general, is illustrated in several studies. It is also made clear in the literature that for most people in industrialized societies, these aspects of leisure are not integrated with their work as much as they would like. Many authors identify leisure which occurs in certain types of work or for people in particular situations and recommend that measures be taken to use this knowledge to make the work of a larger number of people more leisure-like. Although there is apparently universal support amongst researchers for such a development, and their studies show that the principle is also popular with employees, there appear to be few attempts to extend the features which it has in common with leisure.

It has been shown in Part 1 that freedom and autonomy are valued in similar ways in the four countries, and that universally there are not enough of these features in work. In Japan, it may be that workers are less concerned than West Europeans about the division between work and leisure, and thus appear more flexible about when they work and how much they perform at work. Such attitudes apparently stem, in part, from patterns learned at school in the respective countries (Rohlen, 1983). In contrast, it is also becoming evident that flexible attitudes

toward work are changing in Japan, perhaps partly as a result of a growing awareness of leisure and increased value of leisure in Japan. In this respect, the Japanese would seem to be moving toward an outlook which is more similar to that prevalent in the West European countries, that is, that there is a requirement for more leisure in general, and for more of the features of leisure at work in particular.

It can be seen from the literature that employees in all four countries appear to attach greater value to leisure in the form of freedom and autonomy than to recreation, defined as an activity which has the purpose of relaxing or refreshing, and would thus seem to want radical changes in the scheduling of work and planning of work activities, rather than simply have more opportunities for recreation activities at work.

Despite the differences in the amount and type of literature on leisure at work in the four countries, there are some indications of convergence in attitudes regarding the phenomenon, even if not in practice.

Whilst a great deal of evidence is available on recreation at work, however, scarcely any exists on patterns of 'spontaneous' leisure, or 'leisure as freedom'. Both are difficult to measure quantitatively and qualitatively as they may occur at the same time as other activities and, in any case, may be perceived differently from one individual to another.

It is not uncommon, as has been seen, for work time to be enjoyed as much as leisure time, and in some cases, for work to be enjoyed more than leisure. In such circumstances, it becomes difficult to distinguish between work and leisure. The evidence of a certain blurring, however, of the dividing line between leisure time and work time, illustrates how leisure can encroach on work or vice versa. The more this phenomenon is understood, the more likely it is for cognizance to be taken of the value

of transferring elements of leisure to work. The cross-cultural nature of the present study, moreover, allows this process to be examined from various national viewpoints.

PART 2 METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 6 RESEARCH METHOD

Cross-cultural issues

Many of the anticipated problems with the present research are linked to the multi-cultural nature of the study. It was predicted that some of the issues concerned might affect the outcome of the investigation. The most salient points are examined here, and solutions are suggested for the difficulties encountered.

It was clear from the literature review that little evidence exists on leisure at work and that comparative studies on the topic are also rare. Although some research has been carried out into recreation at work, it was found that further empirical work was needed in order to identify patterns of leisure at work in each of the four countries. Few studies exist which carry out uniform studies in different societal contexts using the same criteria for research in each country.

The cross-cultural comparative approach of this thesis and the number of countries involved, whilst providing an unusual combination of national specificities, created several problems. These include comparability of data and of socio-linguistic terms in the four countries, differences in the amount and type of literature available, and access to organizations for fieldwork.

The difficulty of gathering reliable comparative data is well known and the problems involved are commonly discussed in theoretical works on cross-national comparisons. In a general analysis of cross-national methodology, Hantrais et al (1985:ix-x), for example, have emphasized the

problem of obtaining 'equally good data from all nations' and show that differing organizational systems in different societies can make it difficult to measure the same phenomena. Solutions suggested include putting original data into new categories which are more appropriate for cross-national study, although this does not eliminate discrepancies in meanings. The replication of 'the research design simultaneously in two countries on matched groups' is a recommended technique for avoiding some of the same problems (Hantrais et al, 1985:ix).

Matching definitions of phenomena linguistically is also a well-documented problem in comparative research (Lisle, 1985). Even where the terms used are broadly similar, attitudes toward particular phenomena may still vary as a result of cultural differences in the countries concerned. In the first part of this thesis, leisure was shown to be a phenomenon for which broadly comparable definitions could be established in the four countries, and the language difficulty was not as serious as it might be in some other fields. Differences were noted, however, in the way in which free time and recreation were defined and also in the associations surrounding all these terms. For example, in the West European countries, and West Germany in particular, leisure tends to be associated with private, or home, life, whereas in Japan, leisure seems more often to be equated with 'holidays' and special excursions in order to do 'recreation activities'. Nonetheless, the lack of research specifically on leisure at work means that it has not been possible to discover whether this phenomenon is perceived in the same way from one society to another.

The method suggested by Hantrais was broadly followed in the present study, where the same research instrument was used in each of the four

chosen countries. The aim was to extract comparative data from fieldwork carried out at the same time, with respondents from similar backgrounds, and with tools specifically designed to ensure that the same questions were asked in each country. The data would then be analysed by a process of interweaving the findings from each of the countries, rather than just producing a set of chapters each of which discusses a different country, but does not actually compare differences or similarities of behaviour in the countries. The author's fluency in French and German and good working knowledge of Japanese, as well as her contacts with researchers gained from having lived and worked in each of the four countries, facilitated the carrying out of the study.

Methodology

Britain, West Germany, France and Japan were selected for the study because of the anticipated relative ease of access to companies by the author. The West European countries were contrasted with Japan in order to compare industrialized societies in the West and the Far East at a time when trade between them is rapidly increasing and communication becoming easier and more frequent.

With the continuing merging of interests within the European Community, leading to complete integration in 1992, and with the apparent preference for Britain to be used as the European base for a large number of Japanese companies, it seemed to be an opportune time to carry out a cross-cultural comparative study to highlight differences and similarities in the area of leisure and of leisure at work in particular, as influenced by specific national cultures.

A survey was conducted amongst white-collar workers in the four countries to find out how much time was taken for leisure, what activities were carried out, and what the attitudes of the employees were toward their leisure at work. In order to test hypotheses which emerged from the study of the literature, identical questionnaires, in the appropriate language, were sent to white-collar employees in large, broadly comparable companies in the fields of services, manufacturing and the media.

White-collar workers were selected for the study as they had not previously been studied in this context and in order to keep the research within manageable limits, particularly as four countries were to be examined. Intermediaries used were either employed by or had access to the chosen companies. The survey was therefore designed to elicit as far as possible data regarding the recreation activities at work of white-collar workers and to discover attitudes toward such activities.

Attempts were made to obtain equal numbers of respondents in each of the four countries who represented a range of social variables. Men and women were chosen between the ages of twenty and sixty-five years and with jobs ranging from clerical to managerial.

From the review of the literature on the leisure at work of blue-collar workers, it emerged that recreation at work was seen to be organized and more visible and therefore identifiable, whereas leisure, where freedom and autonomy are prerequisites, was less recognizable. However, leisure pervaded work to a greater or lesser extent from country to country.

The first part of the analysis describes the categories of the respondents. Details of social variables were requested in the

questionnaire so that an attempt could be made to measure their influence on the results. In order to keep the study within manageable limits, the three main social variables selected for the analysis were gender, age and socio-economic status. In the literature review, it was seen that few studies on leisure and leisure at work paid special attention to several different social categories and that international studies tended to generalize about 'the Japanese' or 'the French', as if Japanese or French people, men and women, young and old, rich and poor all reacted in the same way. However, an increasing number of studies now focus on gender as a factor in leisure behaviour (for example, Deem, 1985).

Work patterns are examined in Chapter 7. The amount of hours worked by the respondents per day, overtime worked, whether paid or unpaid, starting and finishing times of work are all illustrated. Actual patterns of work of the respondents and their preferences according to the results of the survey are given. The studies reviewed in the first part of the thesis suggested that the number of hours worked, starting and finishing times of work, the existence or not of flexible hours, the number and timing of breaks in the day and time spent commuting, may all affect, and be influenced by, leisure at work. Questions were therefore framed in such a way as to elicit comparative data on these issues.

Recreation activities such as sport, chatting, playing games and reading were identified in the literature as occurring at work, and the respondents were asked about their own behaviour regarding these activities. Time spent on these activities is shown and differences and similarities influenced by societal factors are highlighted.

The leisure at work and attitudes toward it of the respondents are analysed in Chapter 8. Based on the findings in the literature review

that leisure is experienced where the prerequisites of freedom and autonomy are perceived, the results are used to demonstrate the extent to which the respondents are aware of leisure at work. Questions were posed in order to assess the importance attached to particular features of leisure at work, such as sociability, freedom to choose and autonomy, and to measure and compare the strength of the respondents' aspirations to have more of these elements in their work from country to country.

Selection of the respondents

Not all the companies that were originally selected agreed to take part in the survey, and it was therefore difficult to obtain a completely homogeneous group of respondents. Ease of access to each company largely depended on the existence of personal contacts between the author and a company representative. In many of the cases where there was such a contact, permission was granted promptly to distribute questionnaires within the company.

The original intention had been to seek access to companies in a more systematic manner, and to use the employees of a large multi-national company which has branches in each of the four countries. This would have ensured some homogeneity of respondents of different nationalities, but working for the same company. Access to the particular firm chosen was not forthcoming, however, and due to limits of time and resources, this course of action was abandoned in favour of the one eventually used, which was to ask contacts known to the author to help distribute the questionnaires. It was intended to use the findings from the survey, although obviously the number of respondents was too small to draw any definitive conclusions, to point to interesting areas for future research.

Personal contacts in West German and French companies did not at first yield enough respondents, however, and it was therefore necessary to approach firms where no representatives were known to the author. One company in three contacted in this way in West Germany and one in eight in France agreed to take part in the survey. In these cases, personnel managers or employees responsible for staff welfare and social benefits were directly contacted by letter and/or telephone.

In firms where the survey was accepted, the response rate was 92% in Japan, 60% in Britain, 54% in West Germany and 35% in France. These differences seem to be due mainly to the type of contact available in the various companies. The nature of the questions may also have influenced the response rate, and this is an area requiring further investigation.

One French and one West German company refused to take part in the survey as the questions were deemed to be 'subversive' by them, that is, contacts believed that they might make employees more aware of negative aspects of their company and/or workplace. It is not known how many other companies refused access on these grounds.

The high response rate in Japan could be partly because the main contact assigned to distribute the questionnaires was an authoritative university professor with personal contacts in many Japanese companies. As the majority of the questionnaires were passed on to employees by him, the survey perhaps had a better chance of being taken seriously than if it had been sent directly to companies by the author.

Contacts in British companies were all personal acquaintances of the author and the survey therefore received special attention. These contacts are known to have personally encouraged employees to return

their completed questionnaires, i.e. by asking them to return them, and this could partly account for the high response rate in Britain. Assistance from such contacts may have caused a bias in the results. For instance, employees might have felt obliged to fill in the questionnaires in order to satisfy the contact, and may therefore not have taken the same time or shown the same interest as those who genuinely chose themselves to complete the questionnaire.

Approximately two-thirds of the West German respondents worked in companies where the author had personal contacts and, as in Britain, employees were encouraged to take part in the survey. A third of the West German respondents worked in companies where there were no personal contacts. The response rate in these firms was substantially lower (about half) than that in the companies where there was a personal contact.

The French respondents were the most difficult to obtain. Even in a company where there were personal contacts, the survey was refused. The reason given reluctantly for the refusal was that the questions might 'upset' the employees. This could have been merely the pretext given by the particular contact and the actual reason for the refusal could have been that the contact was not willing to approach his employees to ask them to complete the questionnaires, or, possibly, as suggested by some of the staff at the company, that he was embarrassed by the lack of leisure opportunities at the company and did not want this to be publicized.

Of the two French companies that took part in the survey, one was encouraged to do so by an established researcher in France, and the questionnaires were distributed by him. The other firm, where there had

previously been no personal contact, agreed to take part after a telephone conversation and interview with the author. The social and welfare manager of this company took responsibility for the return of the questionnaires.

The number of respondents differed in the four countries for a number of reasons. The highest number of questionnaires were returned by Japan (65) and Britain (60) and the lowest by West Germany (43) and France (14). The total number of questionnaires used in the analysis was 182. Interest in the study by the companies taking part was manifest by the fact that all the contacts and several respondents requested that the findings from the study be sent to them on completion of the thesis.

The British respondents

Eight large companies, where there were no personal contacts, were invited by letter to take part in the survey. Although there were contacts in other companies, these attempts were made as a safety measure in order to ensure that a reasonable number of completed questionnaires were received. None of these companies, however, which included banks, chemical, engineering and automotive firms, agreed to take part in the survey. British companies participating in the survey all did so via personal contacts of the author and were as follows:

Table 6.1 The British respondents

Company	Contact	sent	returned
A media company	Personnel Manager	20	15
An computer company	Engineer	20	13
An aero-space company	Contracts Manager	20	12
An automotive company	Personnel Manager	20	12
A pharmaceuticals company	Executive Manager	20	8
Total		100	60

The figures in the last column of the table indicate the number of completed questionnaires returned and used in the analysis.

The West German respondents

Three companies were approached where there were no personal contacts with the author. One company, a large mining firm, at first refused to take part for the reasons given above, but after a second invitation, the personnel manager allowed nine questionnaires to be completed and returned. The reaction of another company, a media firm, was similar to the second and seven completed questionnaires were received from them. The companies taking part were:

Table 6.2 The West German respondents

Company	Contact	sent	returned
An electronics firm	Consultant	20	14
A national bank	Bank Director	20	13
A mining company	Personnel Manager	20	9
A media company	Personnel Manager	20	7
Total		80	43

The French respondents

Two companies, a multi-national aero-space firm and an international food producing company initially granted permission to the author to send questionnaires, but when contacted later by letter, neither entered into any further correspondence. They therefore had to be omitted from the study. Eight other companies where there were no personal contacts were first approached by telephone, and seven refused to take part. These companies included banks, large insurance firms and manufacturing firms. One of the companies, however, a food manufacturing firm, did agree to take part in the survey. The other company, a bank, took part after

being approached by an established French researcher. The breakdown of French respondents was as follows:

Table 6.3 The French respondents

Company	Contact	sent	returned
A food producing firm	Social and Welfare Manager	20	6
A national bank	French Researcher	20	8
Total		40	14

The Japanese respondents

A large international food manufacturing company contacted through a personal acquaintance in the firm refused to take part in the study, the reason given that its sister company in Britain was not participating. All the other Japanese firms who agreed to distribute questionnaires did so through personal contacts with the author. A Japanese university professor who had an interest in the field of leisure studies in Japan used his influence to obtain respondents in four companies. The response rate for each of these firms was extremely high. Thirty questionnaires were distributed in an engineering company by a British colleague living and working in Japan and the response rate was also good. A director of a steel company, an acquaintance of the author, refused to allow his employees to answer the questionnaire, as it might 'upset' them, but as a goodwill gesture returned three questionnaires completed by him and two of his colleagues.

Table 6.4 The Japanese respondents

Company	Contact	sent	returned
A motor car parts company	University Professor	10	15
An engineering company	Consultant	30	22
An electric appliance company	University Professor	10	10
A large bank	University Professor	10	9
A national bank	University Professor	10	6
A steel company	Company Director	1	3
Total		71	65

After receiving the completed questionnaires, the data were analysed using SPSS PC+.

Characteristics of the respondents

Table 6.5 shows the distribution of the questionnaire returns by country and according to the variables of gender, age and status. The first table gives the number of respondents in each country and percentages of those in the different social categories.

Table 6.5 The respondents according to the variables of gender, age and position

	Total Number N	Gender			
		Women		Men	
		No.	%	No.	%
Britain	60	27	45	33	55
West Germany	43	20	46	23	54
France	14	8	57	6	43
Japan	65	20	31	45	69

	Age				Position			
	-40		+40		Managers		Non-Managers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Britain	48	80	12	20	22	37	38	63
West Germany	30	70	13	30	9	21	34	79
France	5	36	9	64	10	71	4	29
Japan	22	34	43	66	33	51	32	49

In all the tables in the following sections, M = male, F = female, Ma = managers and NMa = non-managers. The percentages shown are those relating to respondents answering each question (N1), and not to the total numbers of respondents in each country (N). The numbers answering the particular questions in the affirmative (N2) are given alongside the percentages. Two British respondents and one Japanese failed to give their age, and totals for these countries in the age category thus do not add up to the totals answering the questions.

Income of the respondents

Salary levels are given here as a means of situating the respondents in relation to differentials according to variables within countries rather than across countries, since obviously the cost of living varies from country to country and such a comparison would therefore not be meaningful. The satisfaction or otherwise of respondents with the amount of income they receive could have a bearing on how they perceive leisure at work. Those who earn a low salary, for example, may need to or want to supplement their income by doing overtime hours. The implications of supplementing incomes in this way, such as more time spent at the workplace, tiredness caused by long hours of work and related consequences, might be an important factor as to whether workers perceive leisure at work or not. At the other extreme, leisure at work may also be influenced by high salaries; again, workers may need or want to work long hours in order to maintain their financial status.

In Table 6.6, a breakdown is given of salary levels in the different countries. Respondents gave the amounts of their salaries in the local currencies and these were calculated into pounds sterling using the current exchange rate.

Table 6.6 Salary levels per annum (1986-87)

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	30	23	41	10	20	33
West Germany	37	20	17	25	12	29	8
France	13	6	7	5	8	3	10
Japan	58	41	17	17	40		
<u>£</u>	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>-10,000</u>							
Britain	28 53	12 40	16 70	22 54	4 40	3 15	25 76
West Germany	8 22	3 15	5 29	7 28	1 8	2 25	6 21
France	2 15	1 17	1 14	2 40	0	0	2 67
Japan	12 21	2 5	10 59	10 59	1 3	1 3	11 39
<u>10,500-18,000</u>							
Britain	16 30	10 33	6 26	14 34	2 20	9 45	7 21
West Germany	10 27	2 10	8 47	9 36	1 8	0	10 35
France	5 39	2 33	3 43	1 20	4 50	4 40	1 33
Japan	14 24	10 24	4 24	4 24	10 25	3 10	11 39
<u>18,500-26,000</u>							
Britain	5 9	4 13	1 4	5 12	0	4 20	1 3
West Germany	12 32	8 40	2 24	6 24	6 50	4 50	8 28
France	3 23	1 17	2 29	1 20	2 25	3 30	0
Japan	18 31	18 44	0	3 18	15 38	14 47	4 14
<u>+26,000</u>							
Britain	4 8	4 13	0	0	4 40	4 20	0
West Germany	7 19	7 35	0	3 12	4 33	2 25	5 17
France	3 23	2 33	1 14	1 20	2 25	3 30	0
Japan	14 24	11 27	3 18	0	14 35	12 40	2 7

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The majority of women in the four countries earned lower salaries than most men. The difference between the salaries of men and women in Japan is much greater than in the West European countries. This supports the findings in the literature that Japanese women rarely have a career and are thus not likely to achieve the salary levels of men (Woronoff, 1983:83). Fujii (1984) has stated, for example, that 'Discriminatory payment is common in Western Europe and in the United States, but the difference in Japan between men's and women's wages is still the greatest

among the developed countries' (Fujii, 1984:265). Furthermore, Japanese women are seldom able to take employment which might lead to higher salaries, the majority of them being confined to menial, low-paid work, such as 'office lady' (OL) jobs (Woronoff, 1982:114-5 and 1983:184; Pharr, 1984:262; Fujii, 1984:265-6; Hendry, 1989:146).

Managers and employees over the age of 40 in all four countries earn higher salaries than other workers. All these findings seem to reflect national situations highlighted in the literature review and thus the numbers of respondents, although small, do appear to be fairly representative of the four societies.

Although the numbers of respondents were obviously too small to draw any definitive conclusions about leisure at work in these countries, analysis of the returns did reveal some interesting features and patterns and suggested several avenues for future, more comprehensive research. The analysis of the results takes into account the small numbers of respondents, and of the French in particular, as well as the disparity in numbers from country to country, and trends are deduced from the results rather than making generalizations about behaviour in any of the national contexts.

CHAPTER 7 WORK TIME AND RECREATION AT WORK

In order to assess patterns of leisure at work of different social categories, each theme in this section is examined according to the variables which the literature review had shown to be of most relevance: nationality, gender, age - separated into over and under 40 years old - and position in the company, whether managerial or non-managerial.

In the first part of the chapter, work patterns in the four countries are analysed, and similarities and differences highlighted. It was thought necessary to identify work patterns in order to be able to see where leisure fits in at work, and how different patterns may affect leisure at work. If the workday is long, for example, there may be more opportunities for leisure at work simply because a worker is at the workplace for a longer period. Furthermore, workers spending a long time at the workplace may tend to work in a less concentrated way than those who have a shorter day. This echoes Parkinson's law, that work expands to fill the time available for its completion (Upshall, 1988). It has already been shown in the literature review that part-time workers, for example, tend to work more efficiently than full-timers because they are at the workplace for a shorter time (Gerzer, 1986).

The second part of the chapter focuses on patterns of recreation at work in the four countries, and links between work patterns are suggested.

Work patterns

In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to write down the number of hours they worked weekly, including lunchtimes, but before overtime. As the responses varied widely, and in order to simplify the analysis, they were grouped into two broad categories, that is, either 'more than' or

'fewer than' 40 hours per week. The results are given in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Work more than 40 hours per week

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	14	6	8	5	9	10	4
Japan	61	42	19	20	40	31	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	36 67	18 60	18 75	25 60	9 90	13 65	23 68
West Germany	32 76	19 86	13 65	20 69	12 92	9 100	23 70
France	6 43	1 17	5 62	3 60	3 33	4 40	2 50
Japan	54 88	38 90	16 84	18 90	35 88	28 90	26 87

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

These results show that two-thirds of the British, three-quarters of the West Germans and seven-eighths of the Japanese, but fewer than half of the French respondents normally work more than 40 hours per week.

Although the French sample was small, these results match those in the literature review which indicate that the French work fewer hours than workers in other industrialized countries.

In Japan, the breakdown of the results by variables is fairly even, whereas in West Germany, male workers aged over 40 years and of managerial status were more likely to work more than 40 hours per week than women. The official working week is limited by leisure at work as is the number of overtime hours (see Table 7.2). In France and Britain, more women than men claimed they worked more than 40 hours per week. The large difference between men and women recorded in France may be attributable to the small number of French respondents. It could also be because fewer women in France are employed part-time than in Britain. Further study would be required to confirm this finding.

The responses in Britain and West Germany were similar to each other in that nearly all of the British and West German respondents over 40 years old worked more than 40 hours per week, whereas only about two-thirds worked under 40 hours per week. Japan differed in this respect, since slightly more of the respondents under the age of 40 than those over the age of 40 worked more than 40 hours per week.

These results point in the same direction as the findings in the literature that the Japanese are at the workplace more hours per week than workers in West European countries. The long working hours of younger Japanese employees in particular would seem to indicate that attitudes toward work and work patterns are not changing as much as some studies seem to suggest (for example, Misumi, 1983:25; Woronoff, 1983:204-5; Inoue, 1984:382).

Overtime hours

To determine the average number of hours actually worked per week, the respondents were asked to show how many overtime hours they performed. These could then be added to the weekly working hours given above. They were also asked whether they were paid for the overtime worked.

Table 7.2 shows that there is little difference in the percentages of respondents working overtime in Britain, France and Japan. It is clear that overall the West Germans work considerably less overtime than the other three nationalities. This could be linked to the greater tendency for West German employees to have flexible working hours, compared with the other nationalities, as shown below in Table 7.4.

When the figures from the two parts of Table 7.2 were aggregated, it was found that four-fifths of the British, French and Japanese respondents

work some overtime, compared with only two-thirds of the West Germans, the majority of whom work fewer than five hours overtime per week.

Table 7.2 Overtime hours per week

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	14	6	8	5	9	10	4
Japan	60	41	19	20	39	30	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>1-5 hours</u>							
Britain	22 41	12 40	10 42	18 43	2 20	4 20	18 53
West Germany	22 52	12 54	10 50	18 62	4 31	4 44	18 54
France	6 43	1 17	5 63	3 60	3 33	3 30	3 75
Japan	23 38	10 24	13 68	9 45	13 33	10 33	13 43
<u>+6 hours</u>							
Britain	24 44	17 57	7 29	19 45	5 50	15 75	9 26
West Germany	7 17	6 27	1 5	3 10	4 31	5 56	2 6
France	6 43	4 67	2 25	2 40	4 44	6 60	0
Japan	26 43	25 61	1 5	9 45	17 44	13 43	13 43

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The figures show that women generally work less overtime than men, with a much higher proportion working no overtime. In West Germany, almost half the women claimed they worked no overtime. Whilst the number of women working more than six hours overtime in Great Britain and France is considerably lower than men, in West Germany and Japan, the proportion is reduced to only one in twenty. This probably reflects the tendency in all four countries for women to spend more time at home looking after their families, preventing them from doing overtime which, in turn, may preclude them from certain jobs with promotion prospects. Furthermore, especially in Japan, but also in the other countries to a certain extent, not as many women as men have the type of employment which requires them

to perform overtime. As shown in the literature review, Japanese women are frequently confined to secretarial or 'office lady' (OL) jobs and, as they are expected to leave the company on marriage or when they have their first baby, they are seldom able to procure jobs with long term future prospects.

Differences according to age are negligible, although the pattern shows a slightly greater tendency for employees over the age of 40 to work more overtime. In Britain, West Germany and France, the managers in the survey worked more overtime than non-managers, whereas in Japan, the proportion for these two categories is virtually the same. The overtime figures seem to confirm the tendency referred to above for younger Japanese workers to follow the same patterns of work as their older colleagues, and is repeated again for status.

The statistics referred to in Chapter 3 suggested that the French currently work the fewest hours when measured on an annual basis, whereas the results in this study indicate greater uniformity in the four countries, with the West Germans actually working the lowest number of hours weekly. Working hours are perhaps less disparate between the West European countries and Japan than other studies tend to imply.

The results of this survey may differ from those of other research because of the small numbers of respondents. The questions about working hours in the present study, however, were asked in a different way from those in other studies and this could have caused the difference in the results. The respondents were asked to give the number of weekly hours they worked, and then the number of overtime hours, in order to find out how many hours they worked in practice.

The respondents were asked if they were paid for overtime hours they worked, since those who work overtime without pay could do so either because they are obliged to, but more usually, because they enjoy their work and want to get a job or jobs completed in a certain time. The overtime question was also asked in order to assess the similarities and differences of work patterns in the four countries to assess the context for leisure at work. None of the French said they were paid for overtime worked, whereas just under half of the British and Japanese, and fractionally over a quarter of the West Germans, were paid for overtime, as shown in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Paid for overtime

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	37	21	16	26	11	9	28
France	0						
Japan	58	41	17	20	37	29	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	27 50	14 47	13 54	20 48	5 50	2 10	25 74
West Germany	12 32	4 19	8 50	11 42	1 9	0	12 43
France	0						
Japan	31 53	14 34	17 100	16 80	14 38	6 21	25 86

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

There was little difference according to the variables of gender and age for payment for overtime in Britain, but three quarters of the British non-managers were paid compared with only one tenth of the managers. Payment for overtime was made to half of the respondents from Britain and Japan and to one third of the West Germans. All the Japanese women working overtime, who were also generally under the age of 40 years and were non-managers, were paid for overtime. This could be because more of

the British in general, and more Japanese women than men work overtime in order to supplement their incomes.

In all four countries, many more non-managers than managers were paid for overtime. Scarcely any managers in Britain and West Germany, and only a fifth of the Japanese managers claimed they were paid for overtime. On the other hand, three-quarters of the non-managers in Britain, two-fifths in West Germany and nearly all the non-managers in Japan were paid.

These findings indicate that nearly half of the British work overtime in order to supplement their incomes which are generally lower than those earned by their counterparts in the other three countries. Gender and age made little difference to the British results, but most of those paid for overtime were non-managers. In contrast, although a similar proportion of the Japanese respondents were paid for overtime hours, the majority of these were women, under 40 and non-managers. As shown in the literature review, the employment of Japanese women is generally restricted to work with few future career prospects (Woronoff, 1982; Hendry, 1989) and it may be that the only way they will do overtime is to motivate them with extra pay. Japanese men, on the other hand, probably do unpaid overtime because they are much more sure of a career structure, and such work may help them in their striving for promotion.

Flexibility of working hours

Leisure at work was shown in the literature to be affected by flexible working hours, in that they appear to contribute to the perception that workers have freedom at work. In so far as flexible hours allow employees to have a certain degree of autonomy in deciding when they work, the freedom gained by this method of working in some cases enables workers to perceive leisure. The survey showed, however, that most

respondents in Britain, France and Japan did not have flexible hours, as shown in Table 7.4. Apart from West Germany, a majority of the respondents answered that they have fixed working hours. A high proportion of the West Germans had flexible hours, whereas this was the case for a quarter of the British respondents, and very few of the French and Japanese workers. Indeed, four times as many of the West Germans as of the Japanese and French claimed they had flexible working hours.

Table 7.4 Flexibility of working hours

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	14	8	6	5	9	10	4
Japan	61	42	19	20	40	31	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>Fixed hours</u>							
Britain	40 74	21 70	19 79	29 69	9 90	14 70	26 77
West Germany	15 36	8 36	7 35	9 31	6 46	1 11	14 42
France	12 86	5 83	7 88	4 80	8 89	9 90	3 75
Japan	53 87	36 86	17 90	16 80	36 90	25 81	28 93
<u>Flexible hours</u>							
Britain	14 26	9 30	5 21	13 31	1 10	6 30	8 24
West Germany	27 64	14 64	13 65	20 69	7 54	8 89	19 57
France	2 14	1 17	1 13	1 20	1 11	1 10	1 25
Japan	7 11	6 14	1 5	4 20	3 8	5 16	2 7

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

In each country, slightly more respondents aged under 40 compared with those over 40 had flexible hours. In Britain, France and Japan, hardly any workers over the age of 40 had flexible hours. There were few variations for status except in West Germany, where a higher proportion of managers than non-managers had flexible hours.

The results are not linked to the type of company concerned, but seem to reflect national characteristics of work time organization. Thus, it is clear that in West Germany, flexible working hours are more established than in the other three countries. West Germany stands out from the other three countries in that workers there are the most likely to have flexible working patterns and the shortest working hours.

Time spent away from home on workdays

The evidence from the literature shows that many Japanese workers spend a long time on activities related to work, whether at the workplace or not (for example, Linhart, 1984:564-5; Woronoff, 1985:69; 164-5; Hendry, 1989:136-7). It seems that Japanese workers frequently increase their work time by meeting colleagues in bars and restaurants immediately after work and during games of golf at weekends (see for example, Plath, 1964).

The longer time spent away from home by Japanese men on workdays probably reflects longer commuting times and time spent in bars and restaurants after work, rather than longer work hours per se (Linhart, 1975:207; Woronoff, 1985:69; Wilson, 1986:152-3; Tasker, 1987:92). Where the workday is lengthened by frequenting bars and restaurants, it is difficult to measure the amount of work carried out during the whole time employees are 'at work' in terms of production or time.

The respondents were asked how much time they spent away from home on a workday, and the results are shown in Table 7.5. Reflecting the national data, the information provided by the respondents shows that far fewer Japanese than West European respondents spend between eight and twelve hours per workday away from home. Seven to ten times as many Japanese as British and West Germans, and nearly half the Japanese in the study spend more than twelve hours away from home. It is also clear that West

Germany had the lowest proportion of employees who are away from home for more than twelve hours per day. Results in terms of social variables, however, differed little within each of the four countries examined.

Table 7.5 Time spent away from home

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	14	6	8	5	9	10	4
Japan	61	42	19	34	20	31	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>8-12 hours</u>							
Britain	42 78	24 80	18 75	32 76	8 80	13 65	29 85
West Germany	38 91	19 86	19 95	27 93	11 85	9 100	29 88
France	9 64	3 50	6 75	2 40	7 78	6 60	3 75
Japan	29 48	19 45	10 53	10 50	18 45	14 45	15 50
<u>+12 hours</u>							
Britain	4 7	3 10	1 4	3 7	1 10	4 20	0
West Germany	2 5	2 9	0	0	2 15	0	2 6
France	3 21	1 17	2 25	2 40	1 11	3 30	0
Japan	29 48	22 52	7 37	9 45	20 50	16 52	13 43

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

West European workers, particularly the West Germans and British, may have longer 'blocks' of free time because the time spent away from home getting to the workplace and performing their work seems to be shorter than that in Japan and France. The working day of Japanese and, to some extent, French workers, is perhaps lengthened thereby in comparison with that in West Germany and Britain. Longer commuting times in Japan and France and slightly earlier finishing times for many West German and British workers may be factors contributing to this difference.

Starting and finishing times of work

The respondents were asked to write down the times they usually started and finished work, so that the number of weekly working hours they had given could be checked and also to obtain a picture of their daily working patterns. The responses to this question are given in percentages in Table 7.6. The West German respondents indicated that an early start was the usual pattern for them in that nearly all commenced work before 0830, with almost two-thirds beginning before 0800. Britain and Japan are similar in that half of the respondents started work before 0830, with over a third of the French doing so. Nearly half of French started work after 0835 compared with just over a third of the Japanese and British and less than one in five of the West Germans.

Most of the West German respondents finished work before 1830, with over two-thirds ending before 1730. However, virtually all the Japanese finished work before 1730. Differences across the social variables regarding start and finish times were negligible. These figures reinforce the finding that in contrast to popular belief, a large proportion of Japanese (male) workers spend less time at the workplace than many of their counterparts in Western Europe.

Contrary to reports claiming that many Japanese employees work until late in the evening (Tasker, 1987:92), the number of respondents in this study who finished work after 1730 was low compared with the other nationalities. Most Japanese, but far fewer of the West Europeans, and just over two-thirds of the West Germans, finished work between 1630 and 1730. These findings are interesting given that the Japanese respondents also had the longest lunchbreaks (Table 7.7) compared with the West Europeans in the study and started work relatively late.

Table 7.6 Time start and finish work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	30	23	41	10	20	33
West Germany	41	21	20	28	13	9	32
France	13	5	8	4	9	9	4
Japan	61	42	19	20	40	31	30
<u>Starting time</u>							
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>0730-0800</u>							
Britain	9 17	8 27	1 4	8 20	1 10	1 5	8 24
West Germany	25 61	9 43	16 80	16 57	9 69	5 56	20 63
France	3 23	2 40	1 13	1 25	2 22	1 11	2 50
Japan	17 28	10 24	7 37	7 35	10 25	7 23	10 33
<u>0805-0830</u>							
Britain	18 34	10 33	8 35	14 34	4 40	9 45	9 27
West Germany	13 32	10 48	3 15	10 36	3 23	4 44	9 28
France	2 15	0	2 25	0	2 22	1 11	1 25
Japan	15 25	10 24	5 26	7 35	7 18	5 16	10 33
<u>0835-0900</u>							
Britain	21 40	11 37	10 44	16 39	3 30	8 40	13 39
West Germany	2 5	1 5	1 5	2 7	0	0	2 6
France	6 46	2 40	4 50	3 75	3 33	5 56	1 25
Japan	26 43	19 45	7 37	6 30	20 50	17 55	9 30
<u>Finishing time</u>							
<u>1630-1730</u>							
Britain	22 42	12 40	10 44	15 37	5 50	3 15	19 57
West Germany	28 68	11 52	17 85	19 68	9 69	4 44	24 75
France	3 25	1 25	2 25	1 25	2 25	0	3 75
Japan	59 97	40 95	19 100	19 95	39 98	31 100	28 93
<u>1735-1830</u>							
Britain	22 42	12 40	10 44	19 46	3 30	10 50	12 36
West Germany	9 22	7 33	2 10	6 21	3 23	3 33	6 19
France	6 50	2 50	4 50	2 50	4 50	5 63	1 25
Japan	0						
<u>1835-1930</u>							
Britain	9 17	6 20	3 13	7 17	2 20	7 35	2 6
West Germany	4 10	3 14	1 5	3 11	1 7	2 22	2 6
France	3 25	1 25	2 25	1 25	2 25	3 38	0
Japan	2 3	2 5	0	1 5	2 3	0	2 7

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The implication of these findings is that in Japan, work is not carried out as intensely as in West Germany, for example, where lunchbreaks are shorter. It would therefore appear that the Japanese intersperse their working day with activities other than work, and that, as shown in the literature, these are probably either recreation or leisure. In West Germany and Britain, on the other hand, it appears that work time might be more homogeneous than in Japan and that it is shorter than is implied in the literature, leaving longer periods of 'free time' or 'private time' after work, and the largest blocks of free time after work. It seems that because of the positioning of work time in West Germany, whereby work starts and finishes earlier than in the other three countries, the West Germans have a longer block of free time at the end of the day.

Linked with the length of the workday is the amount of time spent for a lunchbreak. It could be assumed that where a lunchbreak is long, the overall workday will be lengthened, whereas if it is shorter, the day could also be shorter. In some circumstances, of course, a lunchbreak may be short or non-existent and the workday will still be long, if there is a large amount of work to be completed. The respondents were therefore asked how long they had for their lunchbreak, and the results are given in minutes in Table 7.7.

It can be seen in Table 7.7 that half the West Germans, but about a fifth of other nationalities claimed they had a lunchbreak of up to three-quarters of an hour. This reinforces the finding that the workday in West Germany is shorter and more concentrated than that in the other three countries, and there may be a correlation with the high number of West German employees who work flexible hours. A shorter lunchbreak is

also probably linked to a shorter working day. In contrast, few West Germans said they had more than three-quarters of an hour for their lunchbreak. The British and the Japanese had the longest lunchbreaks, with over a third of the Japanese taking between three-quarters of an hour and an hour and over a third taking between one hour and one hour and a quarter. Nearly half of the British claimed they took between one hour and one hour and a quarter. Approximately a third of the French sample did not answer this question; the reason could be that they did not take a break at lunchtime. The small number of French respondents could also have affected this result.

Table 7.7 Time for lunchbreak

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	22	20	41	10	20	33
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	10	3	7	3	7	6	4
Japan	61	42	19	20	40	31	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>30-44 mins.</u>							
Britain	11 21	9 30	2 9	9 22	2 20	6 30	5 15
West Germany	21 50	8 36	13 65	16 55	5 39	3 33	18 55
France	2 20	0	2 29	1 33	1 14	1 17	1 25
Japan	11 18	9 21	2 11	5 25	6 15	6 19	5 17
<u>45-59 mins.</u>							
Britain	10 19	1 3	9 39	7 17	2 20	2 10	8 24
West Germany	5 12	4 18	1 5	2 7	3 23	1 11	4 12
France	4 40	1 33	3 43	2 67	2 29	1 17	3 75
Japan	24 39	15 36	9 47	12 60	11 28	8 26	16 53
<u>60-75 mins.</u>							
Britain	24 45	13 43	11 48	19 46	4 40	6 30	18 55
West Germany	9 21	4 18	5 25	6 21	3 23	1 11	8 24
France	3 30	2 67	1 14	0	3 43	3 50	0
Japan	25 41	18 43	7 37	3 15	22 55	16 52	9 30

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The longer lunchbreaks of the Japanese in particular, and to a lesser extent the French and British, may contribute to their longer working days compared with the West Germans. The latter appear to shorten their day and increase their free time by starting and finishing earlier than the other nationalities in the survey.

In order to ascertain attitudes toward lunchbreaks, the respondents were asked to indicate whether their lunchbreak was 'just right' or 'too short'. Opinions regarding the length of lunchbreaks (see Table 7.8) give some indication of how content workers are with their working hours. Most respondents seemed satisfied with the length of their lunchbreak. A peculiarity of these attitudes as far as the West Germans and Japanese are concerned is that almost one third of them desired longer lunchbreaks, although the former have the shortest, and the latter have the longest lunchbreaks.

Table 7.8 Lunchtime opinion

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	30	23	41	10	20	33
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	11	5	6	3	8	7	4
Japan	61	42	19	20	40	31	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>'just right'</u>							
Britain	32 60	20 67	12 52	26 63	6 60	15 75	17 52
West Germany	24 57	13 59	11 55	15 52	9 69	6 67	18 55
France	9 82	4 80	5 83	3 100	6 75	5 71	4 100
Japan	39 64	33 79	6 32	9 45	30 75	23 74	16 53
<u>'too short'</u>							
Britain	8 15	2 7	6 26	6 15	2 20	1 5	7 21
West Germany	12 29	5 23	7 35	8 28	4 31	2 22	10 30
France	1 9	0	1 17	0	1 13	1 14	0
Japan	19 31	8 19	11 58	10 50	8 20	7 23	12 40

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Actual and preferred work patterns

Although the respondents had indicated the number of hours they worked, a further question about work patterns was asked to obtain a broader picture of their actual working day. In particular, the question aimed to find out the overall positioning in the day of work time and how many respondents had frequent breaks. They were thus asked to choose the work pattern typifying their day from the five listed below:

1. 0800/0900 to 1730/1830 with breaks in the morning and afternoon with a longer break for lunch.
2. 0700/0800 to 2000 with regular short breaks throughout the day.
3. 0700/0830 to 1800/2200 with only a lunchbreak.
4. As 2, but with no breaks.
5. 0700/0830 to 1300/1400 with few or no breaks.

The results are given in Table 7.9. Responses indicating that workdays resembled Patterns two, four or five were negligible and are not, therefore, included in the table.

Table 7.9 Typical workday

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	14	6	8	5	9	10	4
Japan	61	42	19	20	40	31	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>Pattern 3: 0700-2200</u>							
Britain	31 57	17 57	14 58	26 62	5 50	13 65	18 53
West Germany	29 69	15 68	14 70	18 62	11 85	5 56	24 73
France	8 57	4 67	4 50	3 60	5 56	7 70	1 25
Japan	42 69	32 76	10 53	12 60	29 73	23 74	19 63
<u>Pattern 1: 0800-1830</u>							
Britain	16 30	8 27	8 33	10 24	4 40	2 10	14 41
West Germany	8 19	3 14	5 25	7 24	1 8	1 11	7 21
France	3 21	1 17	2 25	1 20	2 22	0	3 75
Japan	18 30	9 21	9 47	7 35	11 28	8 26	10 33

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

A majority of all the respondents, regardless of nationality, gender or age, claimed that of the patterns described, number three most closely resembled their workday. A minority had a pattern similar to number one.

To assess the respondents' attitudes toward their work patterns, the questionnaire asked them to indicate which pattern they would prefer if given the choice. The two patterns featuring most in the responses were Patterns three and five, and the results for these are given below in Table 7.10. The figures for the responses showing a preference for patterns one, two or four are not given as they were so small.

Disparities emerged in the study regarding actual patterns of work and those desired by workers. A large proportion of the respondents indicated that, given the choice, they would prefer a different pattern of work from that obtaining. Pattern three was chosen by a far smaller proportion of the workers than the number of those who currently had such a workday. The results were similar for the different age groups, but more of the men than women in each country preferred pattern three.

A considerable number of respondents indicated they would like to have a work pattern resembling number five, that is, a workday which begins earlier and ends at 1300 or 1400, where there are few, if any, breaks. About a third of the British, West German and French respondents, and a fifth in Japan would, if given the choice, select this pattern. None actually had such a pattern at the time of the survey. More women than men in each country gave their preference as pattern five.

In France and Japan, older employees were slightly more likely to choose pattern five than younger workers, whereas in Britain and West Germany, this tendency was reversed. In the West European countries, France in

particular, more of the non-managers than managers stated that they would prefer pattern five, but in Japan, twice as many of the managers as non-managers did so.

Table 7.10 Preferred work pattern

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	52	29	23	40	10	20	32
West Germany	41	21	20	28	13	9	32
France	13	5	8	5	8	9	4
Japan	58	40	18	18	39	29	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>Pattern 3: 0700-2200</u>							
Britain	18 35	11 38	7 30	14 35	4 40	11 55	7 22
West Germany	16 39	9 43	7 35	9 32	7 54	4 44	12 38
France	6 46	3 60	3 38	3 60	3 38	5 56	1 25
Japan	17 29	16 40	1 6	5 28	12 31	7 24	10 35
<u>Pattern 5: 0700-1400</u>							
Britain	20 39	10 35	10 44	16 40	3 30	5 25	15 47
West Germany	12 29	4 19	8 40	9 32	3 23	1 11	11 34
France	4 31	1 20	3 38	1 20	3 38	1 11	3 75
Japan	11 19	6 15	5 28	2 11	8 21	7 24	4 14

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Similarities and differences in work patterns

In conclusion, it can be seen from these results that there are more similarities in patterns of work in the four countries than is implied in the literature reviewed, although starting and finishing times do vary, particularly those in West Germany. Negligible numbers of respondents had a workday resembling pattern five, but in terms of preference, over a third of the British, a third of the West Germans and French and about a fifth of the Japanese would prefer to start and finish work earlier. A substantial number of respondents in all four countries have indicated that they would prefer quite a radical change in their work scheduling.

The literature review indicated that Japanese employees generally work longer hours than most West Europeans. The results of the present research suggest that, on the contrary, the number of hours actually worked was similar in all four countries, and the slight differences revealed by the study seemed to be divided equally amongst them. Indeed, given the amount of literature testifying to the ways in which Japan 'differs' from other industrialized nations, the surprising feature in this study was the large degree of similarity. As many differences became apparent between the West European countries as between any one of them and Japan. In some areas, one or other of the West European countries was the 'odd man out' with Japan being similar to the others. The apparent disparity between the expectation that Japan would be the society to differ the most among the four countries and the subsequent finding that there are many similarities in the Japanese and West European societies is probably due to the fact that much literature emphasizes the differences between that Japan and other industrialized nations (see for example, Befu, 1980:29; Sugimoto and Mauer, 1980:7).

Recreation and leisure activities at work

The questions asked on this theme were intended to elicit details mainly about recreation activities during lulls in paid work time. Recreation occurring at the workplace, but outside work hours, has been the focus of other research (for example, Cullen, 1979; Roberts, 1983) and is not investigated here. The object of the questions was to differentiate between activities which can be said to be recreation and those where leisure is perceived. As has been shown in the literature review, a recreation activity can be leisure, but only where the prerequisites of freedom to choose and autonomy are present.

This section takes an objective look at the recreation activities actually practised by the respondents. These have already been identified as including, for example, chatting, sport, reading and resting, and respondents were asked which of these they did at work, how long they spent on them daily and where they did them, i.e. whether in the office or outside it, and what their preferred activities were.

Activities in a work lull

In order to find out what recreation the respondents did at work, they were asked to choose from a list the activities they generally participated in when there was a break in their normal work routine, that is, in a work lull. The choice consisted of chatting, having a break and choosing to do other work. Table 7.11 gives a breakdown of those who answered that they chatted during a work lull. Responses to this question revealed that nearly three-quarters of the West Germans usually chat during a work lull, exceeding the responses from France and Britain by a large degree and from Japan by a ratio of around three to one. The results were virtually equal across all the variables.

Table 7.11 Chat in a work lull

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	29	24	41	10	19	34
West Germany	41	22	19	28	13	9	32
France	11	5	6	5	6	8	3
Japan	58	41	17	20	37	28	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	17 32	9 31	8 33	14 34	3 30	4 21	13 28
West Germany	29 71	15 68	14 74	21 75	8 62	7 78	22 69
France	6 55	3 60	3 50	2 40	4 67	5 63	1 33
Japan	12 21	10 24	2 12	3 15	9 24	7 25	5 17

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

It is clear that chatting is an important form of sociability at work which contributes to making work more pleasurable for employees. This can be seen in some of the comments made by respondents from all four countries in the present survey. Evidence in the literature (Plath, 1964; Brown et al, 1973; Linhart, 1975; Linhart, 1981; Pahl, 1985), as well as these comments, suggest that this form of recreation would be greatly missed if the individuals concerned had no job.

Five British respondents emphasized the importance of the social aspect of work as follows:

I am a social animal and would be lonely at home (female middle-manager, under 40);
 Nice to get out of the house (female non-manager, under forty);
 Part of my reason for working is to get out of the house (female non-manager, under 40);
 I definitely go out to work to meet people. It would be unbearable if you had no opportunity to chat, or exchange pleasantries. I live alone. Need to relate to other people (female non-manager, under 40).

These comments agree with the findings of Brown et al (1973), for example, who emphasized the importance to workers of socializing at work.

In West Germany, one respondent said that it is important to have 'Kommunikation' (communication) (male senior manager, under 40), and two others claimed it was important to have 'Kontakt mit Kollegen' (contact with colleagues' (one female non-manager, under 40, and one female non-manager, over 40).

Two French respondents commented that such recreation was 'indispensable' (female middle-manager, over 40, and female non-manager, under 40).

Another thought that the 'contact avec l'extérieur' (contact with others) which work could provide was important (female manager, over 40).

Another comment reinforced the importance of this attitude:

j'ai besoin d'avoir des contacts avec les gens avec qui je travaille. Le travail est un tout pour moi (I need to have contact with the people with whom I work. Work is an entity for me) (female manager, under 40).

These attitudes agree with the findings of Linhart (1981), for example, who emphasised the value of social contact at work in France.

Three Japanese respondents highlighted the importance to them of social relations at work. One outlined the difference in perception of men and women of work relations: 'Men stress the importance of relationships for work - women value the person' (female non-manager, under 40). The value of the workplace for socializing was emphasized by three others:

the company is for work and to meet people (female non-manager, over 40);
I want communication with people (female non-manager, over 40);
human relations are important (male manager, over 40).

The respondents were asked if they took a break during a work lull. This was done to establish whether employees had rests at work, whether or not they specified the activities during them, such as chatting. Some respondents might have done various activities in a break, so they were given the opportunity to indicate that they took breaks, without having

to list any activities. The results to this question are in Table 7.12.

Table 7.12 Break in a work lull

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	29	24	41	10	19	34
West Germany	41	22	19	28	13	9	32
France	11	5	6	5	6	8	3
Japan	58	41	17	20	37	28	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	3 6	1 3	2 8	2 5	1 10	0	3 9
West Germany	5 12	3 14	2 11	2 7	3 23	1 11	4 13
France	4 36	2 40	2 33	3 60	1 17	2 25	2 67
Japan	13 22	10 24	3 18	4 20	9 24	7 25	6 20

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The British respondents were exceptional in that a proportion of less than one in ten took a break in work lulls, with only one of the male respondents wanting to do this. More than one in five of the Japanese took a break in work lulls, perhaps to partake in exercise or callisthenics using facilities provided by the employers, with a fairly even spread of responses across the social variables. This contradicts the findings of Plath (1964), Woronoff (1982) and Wilson (1986), for example, which suggest that many Japanese workers take breaks to chat, drink tea, play games, and so on. It might be that more Japanese than are indicated by the present findings do have breaks and participate in such activities, but that these are so integrated with their work that the employees do not 'notice' them, or do not perceive them as being breaks or recreation. Cultural 'conditioning' and the work ethic in Japan may have the effect of making many Japanese believe that all the time they are at work is spent purely on work, and that they do more work than other nationalities because they spend more time there, although

some of the activities they do at work may appear to be recreation or leisure to an outside observer, as is perhaps the case in the findings of the authors just mentioned.

On the assumption that not all respondents would choose a recreation or leisure activity during a work lull, the questionnaire also asked whether other work was sought. Table 7.13 shows how many respondents chose to do other work in a work lull.

Table 7.13 Choose other work in a work lull

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	29	24	41	10	19	34
West Germany	41	22	19	28	13	9	32
France	11	5	6	5	6	8	3
Japan	58	41	17	20	37	28	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	33 62	19 66	14 58	25 61	6 60	15 79	18 53
West Germany	7 17	4 18	3 16	5 18	2 15	1 11	6 19
France	0						
Japan	31 53	20 49	11 65	12 60	18 49	14 50	17 57

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = $(N2 \times 100)/N1$ for each subcategory.

The British again are exceptional in that nearly two thirds find other work to do during a work lull, compared with just over half of the Japanese, less than one sixth of the West Germans and none of the French. The difference might be because the West Germans have a more intense workday than the British, as demonstrated in the section on work patterns, and therefore have a greater need to chat in a work lull (Table 7.11), rather than find other work. The British, on the other hand, perhaps because they have a less intense working day compared with the West Germans, may not need to use a specific time for a break or to chat,

and, moreover, choose to find other work if there is a lull in their normal work routine. This could also be an indication that the British are more satisfied than the West Germans with the leisure qualities they already have in work. In Britain, the preference of choosing to work in a work lull compared with other choices could indicate that there are already sufficient elements of perceived leisure at work.

The question of stereotypes also needs to be raised, since the popular image of West Germans is that they are diligent workers, whereas this characteristic is not often associated with the British. The finding that the majority of the British and a minority of the West Germans choose to find other work to do in a work lull points to the inaccuracy of the stereotypical images of the two nationalities.

Similarly, more of the British than Japanese respondents claimed they would find other work to do in a work lull. Again, the stereotypical images portrayed in the literature of these two nationalities is that the Japanese work harder than the British, but the findings in this survey suggest the opposite, namely, that the British may actually be 'more diligent' than the Japanese, or because, unlike the West Germans, the Japanese spend so much time daily at the workplace that their need for such breaks from work is greater than for the British.

The finding that none of the French chose to do other work in a work lull could be influenced by the extremely small number of French respondents, but it is supported by the literature, however, which emphasizes the high value the French attach to leisure compared with work, so that if there is a lull, they might well take the opportunity to have a break.

Preferred recreation and leisure activities at work

Since it was thought that there may be a difference between what is done during work lulls and what people would prefer to do, the questionnaire asked respondents to select their most favoured activities from the following list: reading, chatting, drinking coffee, doing nothing, day-dreaming, having a nap, doing a sport, going to social events at the company, flirting, shopping, playing cards, and learning a foreign language. They could also write down any other activity they preferred which did not appear in the list. The responses given for activities other than chatting, reading and doing a sport were negligible, and are therefore not given here.

It was seen from the literature, in Britain and Japan in particular, that workers participate in all these activities at work. The finding in this study that activities other than the three just mentioned are not favoured by the respondents, suggests either that they do not do these activities as much as the literature seems to imply, or that they do the activities, but do not particularly enjoy them. Furthermore, the fact that most respondents chose one of the three activities rather than any of the others, emphasizes the importance of these particular activities. As can be seen from the results in Table 7.14, the responses in Britain and West Germany were similar, with over half of the workers preferring to chat, compared with two-fifths in France, and one third in Japan. There were only minor differences for the social variables in each country.

One third of the West Germans, French and Japanese in the sample preferred reading as a leisure activity at work, compared with one quarter of the British. Reading was the second most popular activity in

a work lull, although in Japan, chatting and reading were regarded by the respondents with equal favour.

These findings suggest that sport at the workplace is not ranked highly in the priorities of most employees (for example, Roberts, 1983). The fact that sport is easier to observe might be a reason for the many studies on it. Other forms of leisure at work may have been understudied precisely because they are less easy to measure. However, the apparent lack of interest in sport at work by workers may be due also to inadequate facilities at many workplaces in all four countries. The third most popular activity amongst the respondents was sport, but the number preferring sport in the three West European countries was negligible, whereas a substantial minority of the Japanese favoured sport at work.

Of the Japanese respondents, one in five preferred sport, compared with very small proportions from each of the other countries. This may be due to the provision of better sporting facilities and the emphasis on fitness and regular exercise introduced by Japanese employers. It would be interesting to find out in a future study how much of this is the result of 'indoctrination' rather than real preference.

Respondents could also answer that they did nothing in a work lull. This 'activity' was included in the questionnaire as it has been shown to be leisure. Deem (1985), for example, has demonstrated that 'activities' such as day-dreaming and doing nothing can be forms of leisure. Negligible numbers of respondents, however, admitted that they did nothing in a work lull.

Table 7.14 Preferred leisure activity at work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	40	22	18	33	5	16	24
West Germany	36	19	17	24	12	9	27
France	10	3	7	4	6	7	3
Japan	53	37	16	18	34	25	28
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>Chat</u>							
Britain	25 63	12 55	13 73	19 58	4 80	13 81	12 50
West Germany	19 53	10 53	9 53	11 46	8 67	3 33	16 59
France	4 40	2 67	2 29	1 25	3 50	3 43	1 33
Japan	16 30	9 24	7 44	9 50	7 21	6 24	10 36
<u>Read</u>							
Britain	10 25	5 23	5 28	9 27	1 20	2 13	8 33
West Germany	13 36	5 26	8 47	10 42	3 25	6 67	7 26
France	3 30	1 33	2 29	1 25	2 33	2 29	1 33
Japan	17 32	13 35	4 25	4 22	13 38	7 28	10 36
<u>Sport</u>							
Britain	1 3	1 5	0	1 3	0	0	1 4
West Germany	1 3	1 5	0	0	1 8	0	1 4
France	1 10	0	1 14	1 25	0	0	1 33
Japan	11 21	9 24	2 13	3 17	8 24	8 32	3 11

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

From these findings it can be concluded that chatting is the most ubiquitous and popular leisure activity at work. Apart from chatting, respondents indicated that they took part in few other forms of recreation at work. Four West German respondents, for instance, claimed they read the newspaper or literature to do with work and two 'tidied their desks' and looked after plants in the office (three female non-managers, under 40 and one female middle-manager, under 40). One British respondent maintained he wrote letters and did crosswords (male, non-manager, over 40).

A substantial proportion of respondents from all four countries clearly stated that they had no time for leisure at work, and even seemed to resent the suggestion that they might have such time or do leisure at work. The British were the most vociferous in refuting that they had time for leisure at work. Seven British respondents claimed that:

I never seem to have any spare time (male non-manager, under 40);
There aren't any lulls (female, non-manager, under 40);
There never are lulls, but if one occurred, I would choose to do work (male, middle-manager, under 40);
There is never usually a lull! (female non-manager, under 40);
There's rarely spare time (male, middle-manager, under 40);
I do not do any leisure activities at work (female manager, under 40);
I do not have leisure activities at work (female non-manager, under 40).

Two West German respondents emphasized that there was no time for recreation at work, one indicating that the workplace 'is not the place for recreation'. Others claimed that:

Es gibt keine Möglichkeit der Freizeitaktivität im Büro (there is no possibility of doing a recreation activity in the office) (male non-manager, under 40);
Es gibt keine Freizeitaktivitäten am Arbeitsplatz (there are no recreation activities at the workplace) (male non-manager, over 40).

Another West German emphatically stated: 'Ich sehe meinen Arbeitsplatz und das was ich dort mache nicht unter dem Stichwort "Freizeitaktivität"' (My workplace and what I do there cannot be connected to any 'free time/leisure activity') (male middle-manager, under 40).

Four Japanese respondents also commented that there was no time for recreation at work and just one out of all the Japanese respondents indicated that she would like to have time for it: 'Leisure is impossible - I wish I could' (female middle-manager, over 40). Another claimed that she did not understand the question even because the idea of leisure at work was so incomprehensible: 'I work at a bank - generally have one hour for lunch. No other break - no leisure at all, and therefore do not

understand the questions' (female middle-manager, over 40). The other two comments were:

No break - if I'm careful and want to have a proper lunch break I can have one hour but if customers are there, women have to make tea for their men colleagues and bosses (female non-manager, under 40);
Have no free time (male non-manager, over 40).

The reasons for these attitudes in all four countries may be that since the separation of work and leisure which occurred as a result of the Industrial Revolution, workers in industrialized societies compartmentalize time into work time and free time and therefore are not aware of recreation or leisure occurring during work time, or cannot accept such a concept. It was shown in the literature review that the Protestant work ethic led to work being associated with 'salvation', whereas negative characteristics, such as 'wasting time', have been associated with leisure. Thus, they may have been socialized into reacting in a particular way. The comments may be indicative of attitudes whereby employees like to think that they are diligent, hard workers, and not time wasters doing recreation or leisure at work.

Location of recreation and leisure activities at work

Leisure and recreation activities at work during work time could take place either inside the office or at some other location outside the office and the respondents were asked to indicate where exactly they had leisure at work. The results are given in Table 7.15.

A majority of the British and West Germans, but just over half the French and Japanese enjoyed leisure at work within the workplace, that is, in the office, rather than outside it. Nearly half of the workers in France and Japan claimed they took a break out of the office, that is, in the canteen or corridor, or away from the workplace completely, in a work

lull. These findings agree with the findings in the literature review that many Japanese workers go to bars and restaurants and socialize during the workday, (for example, Wilson, 1986; Hendry, 1989:137) as do the French, to a certain extent (Adret, 1977:80). In the other two countries, however, scarcely any respondents admitted to taking such breaks. As far as Japan is concerned, this suggests that recreation and sporting facilities provided by the employers are used by a minority of employees. Variations in each country according to age, gender and status were minimal.

Table 7.15 Place for leisure at work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	42	20	22	34	6	13	29
West Germany	24	14	10	16	8	4	20
France	9	2	7	3	6	5	4
Japan	39	27	12	13	25	22	17
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>In the office</u>							
Britain	37 88	18 90	19 86	31 91	5 83	12 92	25 86
West Germany	24 100	14 100	10 100	16 100	8 100	4 100	20 100
France	5 56	1 50	4 57	1 33	4 67	2 40	3 75
Japan	21 54	16 59	5 42	7 54	14 56	12 55	9 53
<u>Out of the office</u>							
Britain	5 12	2 10	3 14	3 9	1 17	1 8	4 14
West Germany	0						
France	4 44	1 50	3 43	2 67	2 33	3 60	1 25
Japan	18 46	11 41	7 58	6 46	11 44	10 46	8 47

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Other activities mentioned in the survey were eating, drinking, smoking, shopping and learning a language, which only negligible numbers of respondents viewed as favourite leisure activities at work. Only one respondent out of the whole sample, for example, indicated that for her,

shopping during work time was a leisure activity (female non-manager, under 40). Some authors have suggested that shopping can be considered as a leisure activity (see for example, Jansen-Verbeke, 1987:71).

A number of the British respondents, however, commented that their favourite leisure activities at work included reading, telephoning, flirting, company social events and drinking coffee. These social activities, including chatting, are grouped together as a form of leisure.

The respondents were asked how many minutes they spent daily in work lulls on activities which they perceived as being either leisure or work. The times stated were aggregated to establish and compare the duration of activities. The questions were organized in this way to avoid asking respondents directly how much time they spent on leisure at work. It was thought that the latter method might have yielded inaccurate findings, as workers may have tried to conceal the actual amount of leisure time they had at work. Table 7.16 shows how many respondents claimed they spent more time on leisure than on work in a work lull. These figures were calculated by adding together the number of minutes respondents said they spent daily on certain leisure or work activities.

Nearly two-thirds of the French, and about a third of the British, West Germans and Japanese, spent more time on leisure activities than work during a lull in their work. The slightly larger proportions of French, British and Japanese may be an indication that these nationals may have more time for leisure at work, perhaps because of the longer time they spend at the workplace, than the West Germans, or that the latter work more intensely to complete the work allotted in a shorter time span.

Table 7.16 Time spent on leisure compared with work in a work lull

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	48	25	23	38	8	18	30
West Germany	29	16	13	19	10	6	23
France	10	3	7	4	6	6	4
Japan	56	39	17	19	36	28	28
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>More time on</u>							
<u>leisure than work</u>							
Britain	19 40	10 40	9 39	15 40	2 25	4 22	15 50
West Germany	9 31	5 31	4 31	8 42	1 10	0	9 39
France	6 60	1 33	5 71	3 75	3 50	2 33	4 100
Japan	22 39	14 36	8 47	12 63	9 25	8 29	14 50

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

These results were similar for men and women in Britain and West Germany, but more of the French and Japanese women than men spent longer on leisure at work. It has already been shown in the literature review that Japanese women are more likely to spend a greater amount of time on leisure at work than men because their career patterns are different. The majority of women in Japan do not need to work in the same way as men since they cannot expect the same career opportunities.

In all countries, a higher number of the younger respondents stated that they spent more time on leisure during a work lull than was the case for those over 40 years old. This could indicate changing attitudes toward work and leisure at work amongst younger workers, who may value leisure more than work compared with older employees, and matches the prognosis in the literature of a declining work ethic in industrialized societies. The results in each country were similar in this regard.

Furthermore, more of the non-managers than managers spent more time on leisure than on work in work lulls. West German respondents who answered that they spent more time on leisure than on work in work lulls were all non-managers. In France, three times as many of the non-managers as managers, and in Britain and Japan, about twice as many non-managers as managers declared they spent more time on leisure activities than work in work lulls.

Time spent on recreation and leisure at work

Paradoxically, many respondents indicated in some questions that they had limited leisure at work, but it transpired from answers to other questions that they did spend a considerable amount of their work time on activities which could be defined as leisure. They were asked to tick from the list of 'leisure' activities given above those which they did at work and to record the approximate number of minutes spent on them daily. These figures were then aggregated to give the total time employees in the samples spend per day on leisure at work, and the results are shown in Table 7.17. The results reveal that few respondents spent less than 20 minutes per day on leisure, with a negligible number in Britain and France and a fifth of the West Germans and Japanese. About half of the West German and Japanese respondents, almost half of the British and a third of the French spent up to fifty minutes daily on leisure at work. Over half of the French and British and almost half of the West Germans and Japanese claimed they spent over fifty minutes on leisure at work.

Analysis of the effect of social variables showed France to be different from the other three countries. In general, differences for gender were slight, but in France, none of the men, whereas nearly half of the women claimed they took up to fifty minutes for leisure at work. The main variation for age was also in France, where none of the younger and a third of the older workers took up to fifty minutes for leisure at work.

Table 7.17 Time spent daily on leisure at work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	41	20	21	34	5	13	28
West Germany	23	13	10	16	7	4	19
France	9	2	7	3	6	5	4
Japan	39	27	12	13	25	22	17
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>-20 mins.</u>							
Britain	4 10	2 10	2 10	3 9	1 20	2 15	2 7
West Germany	5 22	3 23	2 20	2 13	3 43	0	5 26
France	0						
Japan	8 21	6 22	2 17	2 15	6 24	5 23	3 18
<u>0-50 mins.</u>							
Britain	18 44	9 45	9 43	14 41	3 60	8 62	10 36
West Germany	12 52	8 62	4 40	7 44	5 72	1 25	11 58
France	3 33	0	3 43	0	3 50	2 40	1 25
Japan	21 54	13 48	8 67	7 54	14 56	11 50	10 59
<u>+50 mins.</u>							
Britain	23 56	11 55	12 57	20 59	2 40	5 39	18 64
West Germany	11 48	5 39	6 60	9 56	2 29	3 75	8 42
France	6 67	2 100	4 57	3 100	3 50	3 60	3 75
Japan	18 46	14 52	4 33	6 46	11 44	11 50	7 41

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Again in France, all those under 40 years of age and three-quarters of the non-managers took more than 50 minutes for leisure at work. In France, there would seem to be an effect of status in this finding, where managers over the age of 40 are less likely to have, or to take the time for, so much leisure at work.

In the West European countries, generally twice as many younger as older workers took over 50 minutes for leisure. The proportions for the different age groups in Japan were virtually equal.

Respondents' interest in recreation and leisure at work

The results show that a majority of the respondents agree that they have recreation at work, whereas a minority in each country maintained that they had no recreation or leisure at work. A considerable proportion of the sample had more than 50 minutes of recreation or leisure during their workday.

In the literature review there was a great deal of evidence of recreation at work in Britain and Japan, whereas there was less in France and West Germany. The literature implies that much leisure occurs at work, at least in the former countries. The survey reveals, however, that time spent on recreation at work is not as great as this. The identification of workers' preferences may give an indication to employers as to the type of activity to be incorporated into work to make it more pleasurable, and since the interest of employees in recreation at work expressed in the survey was not large, it may be that increasing opportunities for recreation at work is not something which most employees would want. It can therefore be concluded that the literature tends to overemphasize the importance to employees and employers of recreation at work and also to make it appear as if employees participate in it more than is actually the case.

CHAPTER 8 ATTITUDES TOWARD LEISURE AT WORK

Leisure at work

The literature review demonstrated that, according to many sociologists, particularly those writing in the last two decades, leisure is a state or activity freely undertaken and enjoyed. Freedom and autonomy were described as underlying factors deemed necessary for leisure to occur (Kelly, 1976:3-4; Neulinger, 1981:128; Dumazedier, 1987:15). Other research indicates, moreover, that the more these features are present in work, the greater the likelihood that work itself will be perceived as enjoyable and fulfilling and therefore leisure-like.

The manner in which employees perceive leisure at work and their hopes for the future were investigated by questions regarding their attitudes toward the features of leisure at work. The main issues examined were those which concern freedom, autonomy and sociability, as these had been shown in the literature to be prerequisites for leisure.

Some of the questions in the survey were intended to elicit information on how much leisure, defined in this way, is experienced at work in the four countries, the extent to which freedom and autonomy are present at work, and employees' attitudes toward these features.

Comparing the home and the workplace

In order to arrive at a qualitative assessment of leisure at work in the four countries, the respondents were asked to record whether they felt 'at home' at the workplace. If a worker claimed to feel 'at home' in a work environment it was assumed for the purpose of this study that the workplace had a friendly atmosphere with concomitant connotations of relaxation and pleasure. In the literature review it was shown that the

home is where most leisure is experienced and thus a feeling of being 'at home' at the workplace could be interpreted as indicating how much leisure there is at work.

The answers to this question may have been biased by a translation problem in the Japanese questionnaire. When the questionnaire was translated into Japanese, the phrase 'at home' was rendered by kutsuroi de iru, which means to be relaxed when not working. It was later found that such a phrase would rarely be used in the context of work. Subsequently, the author found that the Japanese have in fact borrowed the term 'at home', as there is no equivalent Japanese phrase, and have adapted it to 'atto-hōmu', which means the same as its English derivative. Had this term been used in the questionnaire, the results of the Japanese sample would probably have been different. The responses given to this question are analysed in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Feel 'at home' at work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	14	6	8	5	9	10	4
Japan	60	42	18	19	40	31	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	47 87	26 87	21 88	38 91	7 70	16 80	31 92
West Germany	22 52	13 59	9 45	13 45	9 69	7 78	15 46
France	10 71	4 67	6 75	3 60	7 78	7 70	3 75
Japan	19 38	15 36	4 22	6 32	12 30	12 39	7 24

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The results revealed that more of the West European than Japanese respondents felt at home at work. Almost all the British, nearly three-

quarters of the French and half the West German respondents felt 'at home' at work. The small proportion of the Japanese who gave positive answers to this question can probably be explained by the translation problem mentioned above.

The numbers of British men and women who felt 'at home' at work were equal, whereas in West Germany and Japan, men were slightly more likely than women, and in France, women were more likely than men to feel 'at home' at work. Differences due to age in all countries were slight, with equal numbers of Japanese respondents of both age groups claiming they felt 'relaxed'.

British respondents under 40 were more likely to feel 'at home' than those over 40, but in West Germany and France, more of those over than under 40 claimed they felt 'at home' at work. In West Germany and Japan, more of the managers than non-managers, and in Britain and France, more of the non-managers than managers claimed they felt at home at work. The tendency for more senior workers to feel 'at home' at work could be due to the greater prestige and material comforts they enjoy compared with younger workers, as well as satisfaction derived from professional competency and achievement. In addition, they are also more likely to know and be friendly with a greater number of people, if only by virtue of having spent longer time at the workplace or in the labour market compared with younger workers, and thus feel more comfortable at work.

There appear to be differences in the way the workplace is viewed by employees from country to country. Of the four nationalities, it was the British who seem to enjoy being at work the most and who feel 'at home' there. Several British respondents commented on their questionnaires that, in spite of very long hours, they enjoyed their work.

I love the job I do - it doesn't seem like what most people call "work" (male manager, under 40);
I love my job. The hours are very long but very enjoyable (male manager, under 40);
I enjoy my work (male non-manager, over 40);
I enjoy going to work (female non-manager, under 40).

Such positive sentiments about work were not as forthcoming from the West German respondents. Only one made any such comment: 'Mir macht meine Arbeit sehr viel Spaß. Deshalb habe ich zur Zeit kein sehr großes [sic] Freizeitinteresse'. (I enjoy my work very much. At the moment, therefore, I have no great need for leisure interests) (female middle-manager, under 40). The phenomenon whereby employees who enjoy work do not need or want leisure outside work, particularly in the case of Japan, has already been referred to in the literature review. It would be interesting to carry out further cross-cultural research to find out how widespread this attitude is.

One French respondent stated that, when asked whether she felt happier at home or work: 'cela dépend du contexte professionnel et de l'ambiance. Si tous les facteurs sont réunis, j'aime bien être au bureau, sinon....'. (it depends on the professional context and the atmosphere. If all the right ingredients are there, I enjoy being at work, if not...) (female manager, under 40).

Due to the problem of interpreting the concept of 'feeling at home', a further question was asked to elicit information about employees' contentedness with their workplace. To estimate how many employees actually enjoyed being at work more than at home, and vice versa, the respondents were asked whether they were happier at home or work. The results are given in Table 8.2.

As expected, most respondents in West Germany, France and Britain indicated that they were more content at home. In contrast, fewer than half the Japanese workers claimed they were happier at home. This matches the findings in the literature which show the high value attached by West Europeans to home-centred free time after work (Dumazedier, 1967; Scheuch, 1969; Gerzer, 1986 and Deem, 1985). It could also be a reflection of the tendency in Japan for the dividing line between work and family life and leisure to be more blurred than in 'the West' (Linhart, 1984:565), since where there is blurring, there may not be a perception of a large difference between the home and the workplace, and therefore Japanese may not feel happier at home, because they feel equally happy at home and at work. Furthermore, there is more evidence in the literature of 'leisure at work' in Japan than in the other three countries (for example, Plath, 1964; Linhart, 1984).

Table 8.2 Happier at home than at work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	50	27	23	38	10	19	31
West Germany	37	20	17	26	11	7	30
France	13	5	8	4	9	10	3
Japan	57	39	18	18	38	28	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	37 74	19 70	18 78	31 82	5 50	15 79	22 71
West Germany	34 92	18 90	16 94	23 89	11 100	7 100	27 90
France	10 77	5 100	5 63	2 50	8 89	9 90	1 33
Japan	25 44	14 36	11 61	8 44	17 45	11 39	14 48

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Most of the West Germans claimed they felt happier at home than at work. This may be due to a shorter working day and a concentration of work time in the earlier part of the day than in the other three countries. As has

been shown in studies on part-time workers (for example, Gerzer, 1986:137), employees who work for fewer hours, which are therefore often more concentrated in terms of the work carried out, frequently enjoy work more than their counterparts in full-time employment. It may be that in West Germany, where 64% of the respondents claim to have flexible hours, the benefits of 'short, sharp, bursts' of work have been recognized.

Variations due to gender were slight in Britain and West Germany, but in Japan, substantially more women than men were happier at home than at work. The number of Japanese in total who felt happier at home was low, compared with the other three countries, and the number of women was particularly low, being below two-thirds.

In France, a higher proportion of the men compared with women maintained they felt happier at home. Nearly two-thirds of the French women claimed they were happier at home, whereas all the French men did so. This reflects findings by Linhart (1981), for example, that home life for women can be isolating and unenjoyable and that work, in contrast, can provide interest, satisfaction and pleasure, especially due to the opportunities for socialization that it offers, although the small number of French respondents means that the result is unreliable. Most of the French women replying, were, however, women in relatively senior positions and were therefore perhaps more career orientated and thus more likely to enjoy work.

In West Germany and Japan, the effects of age were negligible, whereas in France, more of the older than younger workers, and in Britain, more of the younger than older workers indicated they were happier at home. There appeared to be differences for status only in France, where almost all the managers, but a third of the non-managers maintained they were

happier at home.

The respondents could also answer that they were happier at work than at home, and the results are given in Table 8.3. One possible reason for an individual feeling happier at work than at home may be that he or she enjoys more leisure at work, or there is a more leisure-like atmosphere at work than at home, although this was not indicated in the responses received.

Table 8.3 Happier at work than at home

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	50	27	23	38	10	19	31
West Germany	37	20	17	26	11	7	30
France	13	5	8	4	9	10	3
Japan	57	39	18	18	38	28	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	13 26	8 30	5 22	7 18	5 50	4 21	9 29
West Germany	3 8	2 10	1 6	3 12	0	0	3 10
France	3 23	0	3 38	2 50	1 11	1 10	2 67
Japan	32 56	25 64	7 39	10 56	21 55	17 61	15 52

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

In contrast to the number of Japanese respondents indicating they were happier at home than at work, almost two-thirds of the men and just over a third of the women in Japan maintained that they were more content at work than at home. This matches findings in the literature review which indicate that women are hardly integrated at all into the totality of worklife in Japan. It is also in accord with the findings in the literature in that the society, or the men, at least, are still pervaded with a sense of belonging to 'the group' and 'the company'.

A quarter of the British, and a third of the British men and slightly fewer women, claimed they were happier at work. Small numbers of the the French and West Germans, however, stated they were happier at work.

The relatively large proportion of Japanese who felt happier at work than at home, that is, two-thirds of the men, and over one third of the women, could be due to the traditional importance of work or the company in Japan, whereby it has been viewed as an extension of the family or, for men, the same as or more important than the family (Linhart, 1984:565; Woronoff, 1982:72). According to one Japanese respondent:

I regard work as my life itself. I don't regard my work as the thing which was given to me by the company but I choose myself and develop myself and try to create a kind of work which can be done only by myself. Therefore spending time with colleagues and overtime work and leisure is all part of my work. My children are grown up and independent now. So I don't do anything special for family gathering but family life is going well. I don't divide work and holiday so I don't understand this questionnaire. (male senior manager, over 40).

This sentiment matches the findings in the literature that work may be more important to many Japanese workers than other areas of life.

Although there were differences for gender, there were few variations for age and status, which suggests that worklife for Japanese men is fairly uniform, regardless of age and position, whereas for women, work is experienced in a quite different way from that of men. In Britain, nearly three times as many workers over the age of 40 as those under 40 claimed they were happier at work. In contrast, there appeared to be no difference for age in Japan. Slightly more Japanese managers than non-managers claimed they were happier at work.

It could be concluded that the Japanese, and to a lesser extent, the British, are happy whether they are at work or at home, whereas the West Germans appear to attach greater importance to their home and private life for relaxation and leisure.

Preferred workplace

To ascertain how restricted employees feel at work, where they are perhaps less free to do as they would choose than if they worked at home, respondents were asked where, given the choice, they would prefer to work: at home or at a workplace away from home. The results of those preferring to work away from home are given in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Preferred workplace: away from home

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	51	28	23	40	9	18	33
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	13	6	7	5	8	9	4
Japan	60	41	19	20	39	31	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	34 67	20 71	14 61	23 58	9 100	10 56	24 73
West Germany	29 69	17 77	12 60	21 72	8 62	8 89	21 64
France	19 92	6 100	6 86	5 100	7 88	9 100	3 75
Japan	43 72	29 71	14 74	11 55	31 80	22 71	21 72

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The spread of responses across the four countries indicates that the majority of workers everywhere want to work at a workplace away from home. Many respondents appeared to have strong convictions about the issue of going out to work or working from home. Of all the questions in the survey, this elicited the most comments. The reasons most often given for wanting to go out to work, rather than work at home, were the importance of a social life at work and of keeping work and leisure separate. Ten British respondents commented that they appreciated and enjoyed the opportunities for social contact at work and expressed the same sentiments as the following two respondents:

Social contact is very important. Most of my friends in the area come from work (male non-manager, under 40);
I enjoy contact with third parties, discussion on work, team approach (female middle-manager, under 40).

Six British respondents maintained that they wanted a separation of work and leisure. In the words of two of them:

Home is not for working. If one worked from home, it would be difficult to escape from the working environment after finishing on the computer (male non-manager, under 40);
There is a need to separate home from work (female non-manager, under 40).

As shown already in the literature review for Japanese workers, it may be that all the four nationalities are 'socially conditioned', to a certain extent, to view their home and work lives as distinctly separate, and to believe, or to want to believe, that they cannot overlap. This tendency was illustrated by the comments of eight British employees, who declared that they would not be able to concentrate at home or be motivated. One claimed that she would not be as 'likely to achieve as much if working at home' (female non-manager, under 40), and another that motivation is: 'easier when working with others' (male non-manager, under 40).

Comments made by the West German respondents indicate similarities in their attitudes compared with those of the British, although the West Germans were more emphatic than the British in expressing how important social relations were at work. Seven West German respondents stated that contact with colleagues was important. One commented, for instance, that 'Ich halte die Arbeit im Kollegenkreis für wichtig' (I think that working together with others is important) (male non-manager, under 40). Five respondents indicated that going out to work was a 'diversion' in itself and that it was necessary to separate work and leisure. It was necessary for one, for example, to have: 'Trennung von Beruf und zu Hause' (separation of work and home) (male senior manager, over 40). For

another, work enabled her to be: 'mit anderen Menschen zusammen' (together with others) (female, non-manager, under 40).

The West Germans also gave reasons for not wanting to work from home, stating that they would be distracted and would lack the discipline to concentrate and work there, claiming that, for example:

Zu Hause lasse ich mich zu leicht von der Arbeit ablenken (at home I'd be too easily distracted from work') (male non-manager, under 40);
Zu Hause kann ich nicht diszipliniert arbeiten (At home I wouldn't be able to work in a disciplined way) (female non-manager, under 40);
Zu Hause schaffe ich meist weniger (At home I achieve less) (female non-manager, under 40).

The French respondents made comments which were also similar to those made by the British and the West Germans. Two French respondents indicated that social contact at work was very important to them, again pointing to the findings of Linhart (1981), that the workplace is an important source of social contact, claiming that:

j'aime le contact avec les collègues (I like the contact with colleagues) (male middle-manager, over 40);
j'ai besoin de contact (I need contact) (female non-manager, under 40).

As in the case of the British and West Germans, four French respondents also commented that they wanted separation of work and leisure:

Je tiens à séparer le travail des loisirs (I believe in separating work from leisure) (female manager, over 40);
Rester au domicile signifierait être coupé du monde extérieur.
(Staying at home would mean being cut off from the world) (female non-manager, under 40).

Only two French respondents declared that they need the discipline of a workplace to be able to work at all. One, for example, wrote that: 'Au domicile je ne pourrais pas travailler'. (I wouldn't be able to work at home) (female middle-manager, under 40).

There were more comments made by the Japanese respondents than in the other three countries, and these were also more varied. This could be

because the number of respondents in Japan was the largest of all the four countries. Ten respondents referred to the importance of socialization at work, however, and this could be an indication that the Japanese value this aspect of work more than the West Europeans. This matches the findings of Plath (1964) which emphasize the importance of socializing at work particularly for male Japanese workers. One Japanese woman, however, wrote on her questionnaire that: 'it is very important to have human contact' (female middle manager, over 40). Another respondent, also a woman, claimed that: 'the company is for work and to meet people' (female non-manager, over 40).

More of the Japanese respondents (a total of 18) than the West Europeans commented that they wanted to keep work and home and leisure life separate. The phrase 'keep work and family separate' was more common, however, than 'keep work and leisure separate'. The implication is that 'family' or 'private life' is not as synonymous with leisure in Japan as it seems to be in the West European countries. Ten Japanese respondents maintained that they needed to go out to work in order to be able to concentrate on work. One, for example, claimed that he did not 'feel like working at home' (male non-manager, under 40), and another commented that she could not 'concentrate at home' (female non-manager, under 40). The Japanese were the only nationality to allude to the problem of changing lifelong habits of going out to work. Four respondents directly stated that they were 'used to' going out to work and 'did not want to change'. One thought that such a change would damage his health (male middle-manager, over 40). Another referred to the problems of the size of houses in Japan and their equipment, which would preclude working from home for many Japanese employees (male non-manager, under 40).

The majority of the comments on this question, in all four countries, thus referred to the belief of most respondents that they 'needed' and enjoyed the social atmosphere or discipline of a workplace away from home in order to be motivated to do their work and to be able to enjoy their 'leisure' outside work. In other words, work enables people to 'earn' leisure and to have a change from the home and domestic routine, reflecting the Protestant work ethic discussed in the literature review.

The respondents also had the opportunity on the questionnaire to indicate that, given the choice, they would prefer to work from home. The results to this question are in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5 Preferred workplace: at home

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	51	28	23	40	9	18	33
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	13	6	7	5	8	9	4
Japan	60	41	19	20	39	31	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	11 22	5 18	6 26	11 28	0	7 39	4 12
West Germany	9 21	4 18	5 25	4 14	5 39	0	9 27
France	1 8	0	1 14	0	1 13	0	1 25
Japan	13 22	9 22	4 21	6 30	7 18	7 23	6 21

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

A number of respondents indicated that they would prefer to work from home given the choice, amounting to around one in five from Britain, West Germany and Japan. In Britain, all the respondents aged over 40 would rather work at a workplace away from home, whereas approximately one third of those under 40 preferred to work at home. There is thus a tendency for younger British and Japanese workers to want to work from

home. This may reflect the growing use of computers and the fact that professional work from home is now made possible using home terminals (see for example, Spicer, 1988; Curson, 1986:128-9). Furthermore, more workers may now be perceiving the benefits of working from home, for example, reduced travel time, more time spent with the family and for leisure.

Reasons given for preferring to work from home included the benefits to be gained from the greater freedom they expected such patterns would provide, that is, for example, as some of the respondents themselves mentioned, time saved from travelling and flexible hours resulting in longer periods of free time to spend with the family or on leisure; greater flexibility to organize work and social time; more comfortable environment, with home and family as the background to work, which in some cases gave opportunities for greater concentration than would be possible at a workplace away from home. Just as there are many different kinds of workplace, homes also vary. For example, one workplace might afford peace and quiet, and another will be noisy and boisterous; homes, too, fall into categories between these two extremes. Building design for living accommodation may also be changing to accommodate those wanting or needing to work from home, by incorporating a study room or office into the house, for instance.

More of the British, that is, nine respondents, than of the other nationalities, commented that they would like to work at home completely. Reasons given for wanting to work at home were that travel time (and costs) would be reduced and time saved could be used for other pursuits, and working hours would be more flexible. One British respondent who would prefer to work from home commented that home-working would allow:

'Greater flexibility in hours worked. Liberated travelling time (one hour daily) could be used more productively' (male middle-manager, under 40).

Only four British respondents maintained that there would be better concentration at home and the pleasure of being with spouse and family and in the home environment, where the number of interruptions would be reduced. One stated that: 'I can concentrate better at home' (male non-manager, under 40). Another maintained that there would be: 'Less travelling, and more family time' (female middle-manager, under 40). All nine respondents were under the age of 40, five were men, and four were women. The finding was not gender specific, but was characteristic of the younger respondents who may be more receptive to new patterns of working from home, as for example, with computers.

Six West Germans commented about their wish to work from home. Two respondents, for example, stated that it would allow them 'Eigene Zeiteinteilung, eigenes Rhythmus' (to organize their own time and rhythm) (two female non-managers, under 40). Other reasons given for wanting to work from home were that it would be: 'Zeitsparender, effektiver, da weniger abgelenkt' (a more efficient and effective use of time because of fewer distractions) (male non-manager, under 40), and people would have more: 'Unabhängigkeit' (independence) (male senior manager, over 40, and a female non-manager, under 40).

In the French sample, virtually no respondents wanted to work from home. This could be due to the relatively high proportion of French respondents who valued their social contacts at work. Only four Japanese commented about preferring to work from home. All referred to the fact that time could be saved by not having to travel to work. One respondent stated

that: 'I could use the day to the full and more effectively at home' (male non-manager, under 40).

Comments made by a number of employees in all four countries indicated that they would like a combination of working sometimes in an office and sometimes at home. This was called a 'Kompromiß' (compromise) by some of the West German respondents. Again, more of the British (a total of 11) than the other nationals indicated that they wanted a 'combination' pattern of work. Some emphasized that in terms of equipment and information, going out to work is essential, but for quiet contemplative work they would prefer to be able to work at home to avoid, as one respondent put it: 'interruption or distraction' (male senior manager, under 40). Further explanations for this preference were as follows:

I would appreciate the opportunity to organise my own days around work activities and other things which interest me (female non-manager, under 40);
it would be best if you went out to work but had the option to occasionally - for example, one or two afternoons a week - take work home (female non-manager, under 40).

In some situations, as in the case of most mothers with young children, this peace and tranquillity would probably not be available. Five West German respondents asserted they would like to work partly at home and partly in an office. Only one, however, referred to the fact that sometimes the home can be more conducive to work than an office: 'Für konzeptionelles Arbeiten ist die 'Heimarbeit' wegen Literatur etc. und der Ruhe günstiger' (Working from home is better for thinking because of the literature available and the peace and quiet) (male middle-manager, under 40). The other four mentioned in their comments the attraction that the autonomy of home-working would allow them, one claiming, for example, that: 'Nicht ausschließlich im Büro arbeiten gibt mehr Freiheit' (work which is not confined to an office allows greater

freedom) (female middle-manager, under 40).

Three French respondents preferred such flexibility. The reason one respondent wanted to work from home was that: 'je dispose du même micro-ordinateur (microcomputer) à la maison qu'au bureau ce qui me permet de travailler aussi à domicile' (I have the same computer at home as at the office so I am able to work at home) (male manager, over 40). Another commented that: 'Il est indispensable d'avoir un contact avec le personnel mais parfois il est préférable d'être chez soi pour la réflexion' (It is necessary to have contact with colleagues but at times it is better to be at home in order to be able to think) (female non-manager, under 40).

Only one Japanese respondent commented on the possibility of mixing both working from home and at an office. He maintained that: 'I want to control my time. I want to work from home or from the office as necessary' (male non-manager, under 40). There seemed to be a general preference amongst the respondents making comments on this point to have more control over the workday, choice of place where work occurs, so that work could be carried out more efficiently.

Disadvantages of work outside the home

The respondents were asked about certain aspects of work which may affect freedom and autonomy and thus opportunities for leisure at work. To find out how much the respondents thought these elements were missing in work, they were first asked to indicate what they felt were the main disadvantages of work. They could choose from the following list, and could give more than one response:

- travel time
- travel cost
- see too little of my family

- more supervision of my work than I would like
- too little individual freedom at work
- there is too little time for leisure after work.
- too many interruptions from colleagues.

To simplify the analysis, the the figures for travel time and cost were merged. The figures for 'see too little of my family', 'too little time for leisure after work' and 'too little freedom at work' were also combined because the replies for each were so small. The replies to 'there is too much supervision' and 'there are too many interruptions' are omitted in this instance as the same question is asked elsewhere (see Tables 8.10 and 8.19). The responses to the question of disadvantages at work are given in Table 8.6.

Table 8.6 Disadvantages of going out to work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	49	27	22	40	7	19	30
West Germany	40	22	18	28	12	9	31
France	13	6	7	5	8	9	4
Japan	57	40	17	20	36	28	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>cost and time</u>							
<u>of travel to work</u>							
Britain	18 37	11 41	7 32	15 38	3 43	6 32	12 40
West Germany	21 53	13 59	8 44	8 67	13 46	5 56	16 52
France	7 54	5 83	2 29	3 60	4 50	5 56	2 50
Japan	41 72	29 73	12 71	13 65	27 75	21 75	20 69
<u>too little freedom</u>							
<u>and leisure,</u>							
<u>do not see my</u>							
<u>family enough</u>							
Britain	24 49	12 44	12 55	19 48	3 43	10 53	14 47
West Germany	15 38	7 32	8 44	11 39	4 33	4 44	11 36
France	6 46	1 17	5 72	2 40	4 50	4 44	2 50
Japan	14 25	10 25	4 24	6 30	8 22	6 21	8 28

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

It was found that features of work which were perceived as being 'negative' were the same in each country and respondents tended to have the same attitudes toward them. A high proportion of all respondents declared, for example, that the cost and amount of time spent on travel to work were major inconveniences.

In total, nearly three-quarters of the Japanese, just over half the West Germans and French and a third of the British claimed that travel time and cost were the main disadvantages. The Japanese results are the most striking, but are to be expected given that the average time for commuting in Japan is 80 minutes (Tasker, 1987). The relatively low number of French respondents claiming that travel to work is a problem for them is surprising, as the average time for commuting in France is between one and a quarter and three hours (Dumazedier, 1974:129).

The main cross-cultural difference was that up to twice as many Japanese when compared with the British, and one and a half times when compared with the West Germans and the French, indicated that travel cost and time were major disadvantages of going out to work. It appears paradoxical that despite the disadvantage expressed, more Japanese than any other of the nationals nonetheless preferred a workplace away from home.

In all four countries, more men than women referred to their problems of commuting. Differences due to age were greatest in West Germany and France, where more of the younger workers than older workers thought travel was a major disadvantage of work, and in Japan, where the reverse was the case. Status scarcely affected any of these findings.

Other disadvantages were that employees had too little freedom and leisure and did not see their families enough. Nearly half the British

and French, a third of the West Germans and a quarter of the Japanese claimed that the main disadvantage of going out to work was that it caused them to have too little freedom in life and to prevent them from seeing enough of their families. It is noteworthy that amongst all the respondents, only two commented about the lack of free time they have because of their work and the lack of personal liberty. It would appear from this that the assumption of the study previously, namely, that generally white-collar workers perceive too little freedom and autonomy than they want to have was not well founded.

One West German respondent maintained that a disadvantage of going out to work was the loss of free time, especially when, for example, there are days where there is little work to do and she is not allowed to go home and then work longer on other days: 'Ich kann nicht individuell arbeiten, z.B. an Tagen, wo es wenig zu tun gibt früher gehen, dafür an anderen länger bleiben'. (I cannot work according to my own scheduling, for example, go home earlier on days where there is little work, and then make the time up on other days) (female non-manager, under 40). One Japanese respondent thought that a disadvantage of going out to work was that she could not 'have free time' (female middle manager, over 40).

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they wanted a shorter commuting time to work. It was assumed that if they did, this would be a sign that they wanted to spend less time and energy taking part in the whole process, that is getting to and from work and actually being at the workplace. The results to this question are given in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7 Want a shorter commuting time

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	41	22	19	28	13	8	33
France	11	6	5	4	7	8	3
Japan	59	42	17	19	39	30	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	27 50	15 50	12 50	24 57	3 30	11 55	16 47
West Germany	27 66	16 73	11 58	18 64	9 69	4 50	23 70
France	7 64	5 83	2 40	3 75	4 57	5 63	2 67
Japan	49 83	36 86	13 77	14 74	35 90	26 87	23 79

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = $(N2 \times 100)/N1$ for each subcategory.

The results show that a majority of respondents in each country, except Britain, wanted commuting to be less time-consuming, that is, most of the Japanese, two-thirds of the West Germans and French, but half of the British. There were no differences between men and women in Britain, whereas in the other three countries, men were more likely than women to want a shorter commuting time. Age and status had only a small effect on this result. In West Germany, however, more non-managers than managers wanted a shorter commute to work. The largest proportion of respondents wanting a shorter commuting time was in Japan. It may be that if they had a shorter commuting time, their workday might become more concentrated and shorter, as it would be easier to go home and there would therefore not be the temptation to stay out late in order to justify long commuting times.

The respondents were also asked whether they wanted shorter working hours. It was expected that a large majority of employees in all four countries would want shorter hours, but, as can be seen from Table 8.8, it was in Japan that the most respondents wanted shorter working hours.

Table 8.8 Want shorter working hours

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	29	24	41	10	20	33
West Germany	39	20	19	26	13	7	32
France	14	6	8	5	9	10	4
Japan	60	42	18	19	40	31	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	29 55	14 48	15 63	24 59	5 50	13 65	16 49
West Germany	27 69	14 70	13 68	19 73	8 62	4 57	23 72
France	7 50	2 33	5 63	2 40	5 56	4 40	3 75
Japan	52 87	38 91	14 78	14 74	37 93	27 87	25 86

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

When asked if they wanted shorter working hours, just over half the West Europeans, but nearly all the Japanese replied in the affirmative. In Britain and France, more women than men, and in Japan, more men than women, wanted shorter hours. This difference could reflect the fact that in Japan fewer women are employed in full-time professional jobs than Japanese men. There is also a tendency for Japanese men to lengthen their working days by carrying out overtime either at work or in bars and restaurants, as is 'expected' of them by their employers and colleagues and their society in general (Woronoff, 1982; 1985; Linhart, 1984). There thus appears to be a contrast between the 'traditional' working pattern in Japan, with its long hours, and a pattern of behaviour that the Japanese employees would actually prefer, which would involve working shorter hours. It may be that if the overwhelming preferences of Japanese workers for shorter working hours and commuting times are met then work patterns might come to resemble those of the West Europeans and thus convergence would occur.

The respondents were asked if they would like more breaks in the workday. They could indicate whether they wanted (a) more breaks and (b) a rest after lunch; the results are given in Table 8.9. Overall, the numbers of those wanting more breaks in general were low, but substantially more Japanese than West Europeans wanted more breaks. However, if working hours and commuting times were reduced as desired, then this tendency may diminish and the resultant figures might more closely approach those in Western Europe. A much higher proportion of Japanese than West Europeans wanted a rest after lunch. Nearly all the Japanese respondents, just under half the West Germans, but appreciably fewer British and French, wanted a rest after lunch.

Table 8.9 Breaks wanted in the workday

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
<u>more breaks</u>							
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	38	19	19	26	12	7	31
France	11	6	5	4	7	8	3
Japan	60	42	18	19	40	31	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	6 11	4 13	2 8	6 14	0	2 10	4 12
West Germany	3 8	3 16	0	2 8	1 8	1 14	2 7
France	1 9	1 17	0	0	1 9	1 13	0
Japan	21 35	13 31	8 44	5 26	16 40	11 36	10 35
<u>rest after lunch</u>							
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	54	30	24	42	10	20	34
West Germany	40	20	20	27	13	8	32
France	12	6	6	5	7	9	3
Japan	61	42	19	20	40	31	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	11 20	6 20	5 21	10 24	1 10	5 25	6 18
West Germany	19 48	10 50	9 45	11 41	8 62	6 75	13 41
France	1 8	1 17	0	0	1 14	1 11	0
Japan	57 93	38 91	19 100	20 100	36 90	27 87	30 100

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The high percentage of the Japanese wanting a break after lunch is probably a consequence of the long average working day where 85% of the respondents work more than eight hours, nearly half are more than twelve hours per day away from the office, and because they have few breaks in the working day. Since the Japanese already have the longest lunchbreaks of the four nationalities, according to this survey, this finding may reflect other differences in daily time organization, for instance, the longer time spent at work in general.

A desire for more breaks could mean that there are insufficient already, and/or that work is not enjoyed, so that employees want opportunities to take time off from work during the workday. Further investigation would be needed to reveal whether the respondents who did not want more breaks are indicating that they are satisfied with their work and/or with the present levels of relaxation at work.

To ascertain how much freedom the respondents felt they had at work, they were asked whether they wanted less supervision at work. Respondents replying positively to this question were assumed to feel they had too little autonomy at work. Table 8.10 gives a breakdown of the responses.

The majority of the Japanese employees wanted less supervision at work and the spread was fairly even across the social variables. The Japanese may want more freedom and autonomy than the West Europeans because of the hierarchical social structure in Japan. Wanting less supervision at work also ranks highly amongst the West Europeans, with more than half the British, one third of the West Germans and a quarter of the French stating they wanted less supervision.

Table 8.10 Want less supervision at work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	48	26	22	37	9	17	31
West Germany	39	20	19	26	13	7	32
France	11	6	5	4	7	8	3
Japan	60	42	18	19	40	31	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	29 60	17 65	12 55	21 57	6 67	13 77	16 52
West Germany	14 36	7 35	7 37	10 39	4 31	1 14	13 41
France	3 27	2 33	1 20	2 50	1 14	1 13	2 67
Japan	54 90	39 93	15 83	16 84	37 93	29 94	25 86

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The respondents were asked whether they wanted to take more decisions at work and the results are given in Table 8.11. It was assumed that if they did want to take more decisions, this would be an indication of a lack of freedom and autonomy at work.

Table 8.11 Want to take more decisions at work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	51	28	23	39	10	18	33
West Germany	41	21	20	28	13	8	33
France	12	6	6	4	8	8	4
Japan	59	41	18	19	39	30	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	44 86	24 86	20 87	33 85	9 90	17 94	27 82
West Germany	27 66	17 81	10 50	18 64	9 69	7 88	20 61
France	9 75	4 67	5 83	4 100	5 63	6 75	3 75
Japan	49 83	38 93	11 61	13 68	36 92	28 93	21 72

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

In Western Europe, similar numbers of the men and women, and in Japan, more of the men than women, indicated they wanted to take more decisions

at work. In Britain, West Germany and Japan, more of the older than younger workers required such a change, whereas in France the reverse was true. More of the managers than non-managers in Britain, West Germany and Japan wanted to take more decisions. The results indicated that, regardless of societal differences in the cross-cultural sense, a large majority of the respondents in all four countries wanted increased autonomy in making decisions. Since autonomy has been identified as one of the main features of leisure, this finding suggests that there is convergence in that most employees in all four countries feel that their work lacks leisure, and/or that they want more leisure in their work.

Another facet of autonomy is freedom to choose, and the respondents were therefore asked whether they wanted more choice in the hours they worked. The results shown in Table 8.12 express the way in which this point is viewed by the respondents in each of the four countries.

Table 8.12 Want to have more choice in hours worked

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	29	24	41	10	20	33
West Germany	39	20	19	27	12	6	33
France	12	6	6	4	8	8	4
Japan	60	42	18	19	40	31	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	43 81	23 79	20 83	34 83	7 70	15 75	28 85
West Germany	32 82	16 80	16 84	23 85	9 75	4 67	28 85
France	5 42	2 33	3 50	0	5 63	3 38	2 50
Japan	31 52	23 55	8 44	9 47	21 53	17 55	14 48

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Many respondents indicated they would like greater choice in the hours they work. Far higher numbers of the British and West Germans than of

the French and Japanese seemed to want more choice. The variables of gender and age had little effect on these figures, except in France, where nearly two-thirds of the respondents over the age of 40, but none of those under 40, wanted more choice in the hours they work. More non-managers than managers wanted to determine their own work schedules, except in Japan, where the reverse was the case.

The respondents were also asked if they wanted more choice in the actual activities they did at work. This question was again intended to show how many respondents were satisfied with the amount of freedom and autonomy they had at work, and the results are shown in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13 Want more choice in work activities

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	50	28	22	38	10	18	32
West Germany	38	18	20	28	10	7	31
France	11	6	5	3	8	7	4
Japan	61	42	19	20	40	31	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	36 72	20 71	16 73	27 71	7 70	15 83	21 66
West Germany	28 74	14 78	14 70	21 75	7 70	7 100	21 68
France	7 64	3 50	4 80	2 67	5 63	3 43	4 100
Japan	53 87	37 88	16 84	17 85	35 88	28 90	25 83

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Although this finding is not supported by the literature, nearly all the Japanese respondents, and a high proportion of the West Europeans were found in this survey to want more choice in their work. The extremely high numbers of Japanese claiming that they want more choice, compared with the other three nationalities, may be indicative of the possibility that a greater degree of autonomy to choose already exists in the West European countries.

Differences for gender and age were generally negligible but in West Germany, more of the younger than older workers wanted more choice. Slightly more of the managers than non-managers in Britain, West Germany and Japan, whereas in France, over twice as many non-managers as managers wanted more choice.

A further question asked whether the respondents worked in order to enjoy free time. The results are given in Table 8.14. Just over half the West German respondents indicated that they worked in order to enjoy free time. It might be that if West Germans like working in shorter blocks of time, the necessity to work for some other extrinsic reason, such as gaining more free time, might not be as pressing as for workers in other countries who have less concentrated workdays in terms of time, and who might therefore feel a sense of urgency about obtaining free time. Thus, in the other three countries, where working periods are longer, the need to work to gain leisure might be more important for a higher proportion of employees than in West Germany.

Table 8.14 Work to enjoy free time

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	52	29	23	40	10	20	32
West Germany	36	18	18	26	10	6	30
France	11	5	6	4	5	7	4
Japan	60	42	18	20	39	30	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	41 79	21 72	20 87	32 80	7 70	16 80	25 78
West Germany	20 56	11 61	9 50	13 50	7 70	4 67	16 53
France	9 82	3 60	6 100	4 80	5 83	5 71	4 100
Japan	51 85	37 88	14 78	16 80	34 87	28 93	23 77

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Sociability at Work

It can be seen in a number of studies that for many employees social life at work is one of the most, if not the most, important aspect of work. The importance workers attach to sociability at work was emphasized in the literature review (for example, Brown et al (1973)).

Advantages of going out to work

In order to ascertain the importance of sociability for the respondents, they were asked to choose the main advantages to them of going out to work (apart from the need to earn an income) from the following list; more than one response was possible:

- socializing with people at work;
- work gets me out of the house;
- work gets me away from my family;
- there are better chances of promotion at work.

The respondents who indicated that the main advantage of work is that it enables them to get out of the house or to get away from their family were negligible, as was expected from the findings in the literature, and these results are therefore not included here. None of the respondents gave any advantages of their own, so the percentages of those choosing socializing and promotion prospects are shown in Table 8.15. The findings corroborate the view that sociability is important, since many respondents, particularly the French and the West Germans, ranked socializing high among the other advantages of going out to work, and valued it highly. The relatively small number of British respondents claiming that socializing is a main advantage of work, however, reflects the responses found to the question on the preferred activity in a work lull, where many of the British preferred to find other work to do.

One quarter of the British respondents maintained that promotion was the main advantage of work. None of the West Germans, French or Japanese gave this answer. The differences in the British results may be partly a reflection of generally lower salaries than in the other countries, so that an opportunity to rise in status and increase income at work may have more attraction for them than for the other nationalities. It may be that the British also have a more laissez-faire attitude toward work. However, it is more likely, as previous questions in this study have indicated, that the British seem to have the most freedom and autonomy at work and consequently may already experience leisure at work without requiring more recreation or social activities.

Table 8.15 Main advantages of going out to work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	52	29	23	40	10	18	34
West Germany	38	20	18	28	10	8	30
France	14	6	8	5	9	10	4
Japan	58	39	19	20	37	30	28
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>Socializing</u>							
Britain	26 50	13 45	13 57	20 50	5 50	6 33	20 59
West Germany	34 90	18 90	16 89	26 93	8 80	6 75	28 93
France	13 93	5 83	8 100	5 100	8 89	9 90	4 100
Japan	41 71	26 67	15 79	14 70	26 70	21 70	20 71
<u>Promotion</u>							
Britain	13 25	8 28	5 22	9 23	4 40	6 33	7 21
West Germany	0						
France	0						
Japan	0						

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

As would be expected from the findings in the literature review that the French highly value socializing at work, all the French women

respondents, those under the age of 40 and the non-managers, claimed that the advantage of going out to work was 'socializing'. Differences due to gender in the other countries were negligible.

The respondents were also specifically asked to indicate whether meeting people at work was important. Nearly all the Japanese respondents and a majority of the French, British and West Germans, maintained that they valued this aspect of work. The results are given in Table 8.16.

Gender differences were slight, but in France and Japan, younger rather than older workers, and in Britain, more of the older than younger workers stated that this aspect of work was important. In West Germany, differences due to age were minimal. In Britain, West Germany and Japan, more of the managers than non-managers answered that meeting people at work was important. The ratio of managers to non-managers in West Germany was approximately two to one, whereas there was less difference between the British, French and Japanese managers and non-managers.

Table 8.16 Meeting people at work is important

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	29	24	41	10	20	33
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	14	6	8	5	9	10	4
Japan	60	42	18	20	39	30	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	38 72	21 72	17 71	28 68	9 90	15 75	23 70
West Germany	27 64	14 64	13 65	18 62	9 69	9 100	18 55
France	13 93	5 83	8 100	5 100	8 89	9 90	4 100
Japan	58 97	41 98	17 94	20 100	37 95	30 100	28 93

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

The high value most workers seemed to attach to this aspect of work appears to confirm the importance of the workplace as a 'social centre' (Plath, 1964; Brown et al, 1973). It was shown in the previous section that comments were made by respondents which indicated the importance they attached to the practice of going out to work, particularly because of the opportunities for socializing. This seems to reinforce the fact that most employees in all four countries place a high value on sociability at work.

Satisfaction with leisure at work

To assess employees' satisfaction with the amount of leisure they have through socializing at work, respondents indicated which of the following options they would prefer, if given the choice:

- to keep the same amount of socializing and work as at present
- to have less work and more socializing
- to have less socializing and more work
- to work in a more concentrated way and go home earlier.

The results are shown in Table 8.17. As the number of respondents claiming they wanted 'less socializing and more work at work' was so low, the figures for this option are not included in the table.

About half of the West Germans and British, nearly two-thirds of the French and just over a third of the Japanese declared they wanted to have the same amount of work and socializing at work as at present. In all four countries, more of the men than women indicated they wanted to maintain the status quo in this regard. Nearly twice as many men as women in Britain and Japan wanted to keep the same amount of work and socializing.

Table 8.17 Amount of socializing wanted at work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	52	28	24	41	9	20	32
West Germany	42	22	20	29	13	9	33
France	14	6	8	5	9	10	4
Japan	60	42	18	19	40	31	29
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
<u>same amount of work and socializing at work as at present</u>							
Britain	24 46	16 57	8 33	16 39	6 67	7 35	17 53
West Germany	24 57	13 59	11 55	18 62	6 46	7 78	17 52
France	9 64	5 83	4 50	4 80	5 56	7 70	2 50
Japan	23 38	18 43	5 28	5 26	17 43	12 39	11 38
<u>less work and more socializing at work</u>							
Britain	7 14	2 7	5 21	7 17	0	1 5	6 19
West Germany	3 7	0	3 15	2 7	1 8	0	3 9
France	1 7	0	1 13	0	1 11	0	1 25
Japan	14 23	8 19	6 33	6 32	8 20	7 23	7 24
<u>want to work more concentratedly and go home earlier</u>							
Britain	18 35	8 29	10 42	16 39	2 22	10 50	7 25
West Germany	13 31	7 32	6 30	8 28	5 39	1 11	12 36
France	4 29	1 17	3 38	1 20	3 33	3 30	1 25
Japan	23 38	16 38	7 39	8 42	15 38	12 39	11 38

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Differences occurred according to age, with more of the older than younger British and Japanese respondents choosing to keep their present working situations. In France and West Germany, the finding was the reverse, with more of the younger than older workers wanting to keep the status quo. In the latter two countries, slightly more managers than non-managers, and in Britain, more non-managers than managers wanted to keep the same amount of work and socializing.

Few respondents indicated they would prefer to have less work and more socializing at work. Indeed, the numbers showing this preference were negligible in the West European countries. In Japan, however, a significant number of workers chose this pattern. More of them were women rather than men and younger rather than older workers. The indication that the Japanese want less work and more socializing suggests there is convergence between Japan and the West European countries in this respect.

A number of respondents asserted they would prefer, if given the choice, to work in a more concentrated way in order to be able to go home earlier. About a third of the British, West Germans and Japanese and just over a quarter of the French indicated they would be more satisfied with such a working pattern. The implication that the Japanese want to work more concentratedly and go home earlier supports previous findings that the majority of the respondents from this country want shorter hours and a shorter commuting time. Differences due to gender and age in all four countries were negligible, as were those for status everywhere except in Britain, where twice as many managers as non-managers, and in West Germany, where three times as many non-managers as managers preferred this pattern.

Not surprisingly, very few respondents indicated they wanted to work more and socialize less at work. In the British sample, it has already been shown, however, that some respondents wanted to work when there was a lull at work. The implication of these findings is that British employees enjoy socializing and/or leisure whilst working, and do not need a special time to break off from work to do such activities.

To ascertain how comfortable respondents felt at their workplaces, they were asked to indicate if they would like their workplace to be 'friendlier'. The results are shown in Table 8.18.

Table 8.18 Want a friendlier workplace

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	51	29	22	39	10	19	32
West Germany	39	20	19	27	12	8	31
France	11	6	5	4	7	8	3
Japan	61	42	19	20	40	31	30
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	19 37	12 41	7 32	15 39	3 30	8 42	11 34
West Germany	21 54	12 60	9 47	15 56	6 50	4 50	17 55
France	6 55	3 50	3 60	3 75	3 43	4 50	2 67
Japan	59 97	40 95	19 100	19 95	39 97	30 97	29 97

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = (N2 x 100)/N1 for each subcategory.

Almost all the Japanese respondents, about half the West Germans and French, and just over a third of the British answered this question in the affirmative. These responses confirm other findings in this survey which indicate that the British, followed by the West Germans and French, have the most leisure at work in that they appear to have the most freedom and autonomy. The Japanese, on the other hand, in spite of being well-known for workplace recreation, are the least likely to have leisure at work. These differences are reflected by the gulf between 'what is', in Japan, and 'what the workers would like'. It has been shown in the literature that the Japanese often work to patterns which allow them little freedom and autonomy. They are, moreover, obliged by social pressures to conform to these restrictions (Woronoff, 1982; 1985; Linhart, 1984; Hendry, 1989).

Few variations occurred according to gender and age, although in France, almost twice as many of the respondents under forty as those over forty wanted a friendlier workplace. Nearly double the number of Japanese and West German managers compared with non-managers indicated they would prefer such a workplace, whereas there was no difference for status in France and Britain.

The respondents were finally asked whether they wanted fewer interruptions at work. As well as wanting the status quo and friendlier workplaces, substantial numbers indicated that they would indeed like to have fewer interruptions from colleagues at work. The results are shown in Table 8.19. About a third of the British and West German and hardly any French respondents answered this question in the affirmative. A much higher proportion of Japanese, however, compared with the West Europeans, wanted fewer interruptions. In Japan, almost twice as many men as women, and no French women, wanted fewer interruptions. In Japan, West Germany and France, there was a slight tendency for older rather than younger workers to desire fewer interruptions, whereas the reverse was the case in Britain. More managers than non-managers overall expressed this preference.

The results show that sociability at work is preferred to recreation activities by the majority of respondents. Sociability, as a form of leisure, is enjoyed by workers, and most seem aware that being at home, rather than at work can be isolating and lonely.

Table 8.19 Want fewer interruptions at work

	Total	Gender		Age		Position	
		M	F	-40	+40	Ma	NMa
	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1	N1
Britain	53	29	24	41	10	20	33
West Germany	38	19	19	26	12	7	31
France	11	6	5	5	6	8	3
Japan	58	42	16	18	39	30	28
	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %	N2 %
Britain	22 42	12 41	10 42	19 46	2 20	11 55	11 33
West Germany	15 40	8 42	7 37	10 39	5 42	2 29	13 42
France	2 18	2 33	0	0	2 33	2 25	0
Japan	43 74	33 79	10 63	11 61	31 74	25 83	18 64

Key: N1 = Total number of responses in each category; N2 = Affirmative responses; % = $(N2 \times 100)/N1$ for each subcategory.

The literature on Japanese work patterns had given the impression that the well-known group relations at work would result in the workplace being perceived as friendly and leisure-like. The responses in this survey cast some doubt on this assumption, and seem to contradict much of the literature on Japan which emphasizes the 'harmony' and importance of sociability at work. The findings here suggest rather that the Japanese want friendlier workplaces, and, according to the respondents in the survey, the necessary conditions which would allow the workplace to match up to their aspirations did not exist.

CONCLUSION

The cross-cultural study of leisure at work

This study has been structured in such a way as to extract themes from a review of the available literature concerning aspects of leisure at work and to use them to devise a questionnaire for a survey which could be conducted in the four chosen countries. Given the breadth in the number of countries, it was necessary to narrow the focus in terms of the object of study.

Despite the importance of the relationship between leisure and work, there is a marked absence of data on leisure at work in each of the four countries. As one of the main problems encountered when conducting the research for the thesis was to define the phenomenon of leisure at work, it was necessary to examine definitions of related phenomena, i.e. leisure, free time, work time and recreation, in order to identify the links between them and to give examples of leisure occurring at work. It was thus possible to illustrate that the phenomenon exists in all four national contexts and to define it based on these findings.

Leisure at work has been defined in this thesis as leisure which occurs during work time, whilst working or participating in a leisure or recreation activity, and where leisure is an enjoyable experience requiring the prerequisites of freedom and autonomy to be present. A distinction was made between leisure and recreation, although recreation at work was also examined in the study as it had been found in the literature that it can become leisure. Indeed, an interesting topic for future research would be to decide which of the following relationships between recreation and leisure is the most meaningful:

- a) recreation is a form of leisure, where leisure is a concept which pervades all areas of life and occurs when the conditions of freedom and autonomy are perceived, whatever the activity, place or time. Thus, recreation could become leisure, according to the state of mind of the participant.
- b) recreation is a form of 'failed' leisure, where the satisfactions of leisure (self-fulfilment, enjoyment, relaxation) are not found in a recreation activity.

The first definition, (a), is the one used to distinguish between leisure and recreation in the present research.

The problem of definition was added to by the fact that there was no comparative data available specifically on leisure at work. The study of leisure had also been approached in different ways in the four countries, which meant that there was no truly comparable second-hand data available even for subjects of study related to leisure at work, such as leisure itself. This was found to be a common problem of cross-national studies, however (Hantrais et al, 1985).

In addition to the lack of material on leisure at work, the literature review also revealed that although a number of studies compared the United States of America and Japan, few compared West European countries and Japan. Furthermore, comparative studies which do include Japan frequently refer to 'Western society', without clarifying exactly what or where is meant by this term (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1980:198-200). The impression given in the literature was that much more research is needed in order to develop models for comparing features of Japanese society with other societies.

Not only were there few previous cross-cultural comparative studies examining attitudes toward leisure and leisure at work in Britain, West Germany, France and Japan which could be used in the present investigation for information or for models, but research in Japan on

leisure in general, and of leisure at work in each of the four countries, was also scarce. The available literature on both work and leisure was therefore thoroughly analysed in order to identify key themes for the study based on new empirical work.

Due to the lack of empirical cross-national research, misunderstandings and myths about Japan abound. As shown in the literature review, Mouer and Sugimoto (1986) have suggested, moreover, that misconceptions may be purposely perpetuated by both Japanese and foreign writers, in order to maintain an aura of 'difficulty' for Westerners trying to learn more about Japan. This, in turn, may have deterred researchers from attempting to include Japan in their studies. The problems of trying to conduct research in Japan are compounded by the fact that much of the literature on the society is 'polarized'; that is, authors often take a position of being either 'for' or 'against' Japan. Such investigations were shown, in the literature review, to tend to propagate stereotypical images of Japanese society. These are then frequently reinforced in the mass media. In addition, generalizations are frequently made about this country with a population of more than 120 millions, as if all the inhabitants conformed to a particular mould; for example, the emphasis in much of the literature on the importance of the 'group' in Japanese society (Reischauer, 1977). Views like this are now being challenged, however, by writers such as Mouer and Sugimoto (1980), Befu (1980:29-43) and Atsumi, (1980:63-78), who suggest that the Japanese are not as different from 'Westerners' as much of the literature implies.

As well as the problems of a scarcity of comparative data on leisure at work were the linguistic difficulties in translating concepts in the four countries (for example, Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986; Hantrais et al, 1985).

Translation and conceptual difficulties were overcome in the present study, as already mentioned, by the fact that the author could take advantage of her background knowledge of the languages and societies concerned.

Despite the limitations of time and money, a small-scale survey was organized to enable further investigation of the themes and to identify societal factors underlying and influencing differences in patterns of leisure at work. Using the results derived from the survey, it was possible to analyse patterns of behaviour of leisure at work in the four countries and to identify themes for future research. These are outlined below. Furthermore, although the size of the study was small, and the results therefore unreliable, it was found that the patterns which emerged were not as predictable as might have been expected. Obviously, the limited nature of the study leaves much to be done in future investigation, but even though the thesis does not claim to have answered questions asked definitively, it has revealed other questions which merit further research. For example, it has shown that the stereotypes promulgated about both Japan and the three West European countries do not give a full picture about each of the societies.

The relationship between work and leisure and leisure at work

Patterns of working hours were examined in the study because of the way they are related to the problems of defining terms such as work time, free time, leisure and recreation. Since this thesis examines leisure at work, there was therefore a need to start from the basis of work, despite what was shown in the historical overview about the possibility of beginning a study of leisure from the viewpoint of leisure.

Before the 1960s, working hours had been steadily reduced to an average of about 40 per week in Western countries, and to about 46 in Japan, but since then, they have changed little in practice, although the official working week in Japan is now 40 hours. From the literature review, it was found that working hours are likely to be reduced very little during the next half century and to remain relatively high for many white-collar workers.

The findings in this study seemed to suggest that because there is more leisure at work in Britain, there is less of a need for shorter working hours in that country. The lower number of British respondents wanting shorter working hours may be an indication that they already have sufficient free time at the end of the day for leisure and private life, and that, partly because of this, their work is relatively enjoyable or leisure-like compared with that of the Japanese or West Germans. The survey results tend to agree with the findings in the literature review that leisure is important in British society, not only for its own sake, but because it also has a positive influence on work and life in general.

In contrast, it was revealed in the literature review that the West Germans have larger blocks of free time at the end of the workday, and that there is a more pronounced distinction between work time and leisure time than in the other three countries. These findings match the results of the survey in the present study, which indicated that the West Germans have a workday which starts and finishes earlier than in the other three countries, thus allowing them a longer block of free time at the end of the workday. The West Germans also appeared to do the least overtime of the four countries, which seems to mark a change in work patterns since the 1970s, when there was evidence that time freed in West Germany

through shorter working hours was being taken up with overtime (Funke, 1974). It appears that the West Germans want more of the features of leisure in work, and an even shorter day, so that their blocks of free time are longer still. If the West Germans had more leisure in work, their need for shorter working hours might be less pronounced.

Due to the particularly low numbers of French respondents, it was difficult to draw conclusions about that country. It would appear, however, that, like the West Germans, there is a general desire to have shorter working hours with longer blocks of free time daily, but not at the expense of a reduced income. This agrees with the view of Fourastié, who pointed out that in order to maintain a certain level of consumption, the French not only accept long working hours but also do not want to work short hours (Fourastié, 1972:102). As in Japan, moreover, the French seem to enjoy recreation at work, which perhaps lengthens their workdays, but would prefer more of the features of leisure at work, that is, more freedom and autonomy. This matches the large body of literature in France which has predicted that leisure will increasingly influence and pervade work.

In Japan, actual work hours differ greatly from those in the other three countries mainly due to workers staying on after normal finishing time, when time is spent with colleagues in bars and other meeting houses ostensibly to carry on work. This fact, highlighted in the literature review, is borne out by the survey results. It seems that the strict hierarchical structure, prevalent still in many places of work, and probably resulting, in part, at least, from the 'Samurai Ethic' referred to by Trommsdorf (1983), also affects leisure at work and the extent to which employees want leisure at work. It would appear from the findings

in the literature and survey that the pre-industrial concept of merging of home and work life is, to some extent, similar to the current situation in Japan, where deliberate attempts seem to be made by companies and society in general to maintain a 'family' or 'group' atmosphere at work, and where workers have been said to view work as the most important part of their lives (Misumi, 1983). To this end, recreation facilities, such as those mentioned in the literature review, are provided, workers consistently stay on at work after normal finishing time, and/or meet with their colleagues in restaurants and bars. The findings of the survey match a growing body of evidence in the literature, however, that Japanese employees increasingly want more of a division between work, on the one hand, and home and leisure life, on the other hand, as obtains in the three West European countries. Writers such as Woronoff (1985) have already implied that the consequences to work of such changes in Japan need to be assessed. The present study has demonstrated that these effects can also be examined from the angle of leisure.

According to the findings in the literature and the survey in the present study, traditional striving for shorter hours does not seem to be such an important issue in the four countries as the achievement of more freedom and greater contentment at work, which according to the definitions used in the four countries implies more leisure at work. The analysis of the findings in the survey indicates that the West Europeans, and the British in particular, are the most satisfied with their working schedules and appear to enjoy the most leisure at work.

Values attributed to leisure at work

Of all the four nationalities, it appeared that the British respondents were the least likely to want more leisure at work; they seemed satisfied with the amount they already had. This is evidenced partly by the fact that if there is a lull in their work, they are more likely than the other nationalities to seek out other work to do. This is not to say that the British do not require more leisure at work. Although they might want more of the features of leisure at work, i.e. more freedom and autonomy, the findings suggest that they have more leisure at work to start with, especially freedom and autonomy, compared with the other three countries.

Similarities amongst the four nationalities emerged in the thesis, since, although all have a differing amount of recreation and leisure at work, and there are differences in actual patterns of leisure at work, the desire for leisure at work seems to be the same. The demand for leisure at work appears to be less pronounced in Britain, as British workers already seem to have a relatively large amount of leisure at work, but stronger in France and West Germany, where there is less 'real' leisure at work, and the strongest in Japan, where there is the least leisure at work of all the four countries.

There was a tendency for West Germany to differ the most amongst the four countries, and not Japan, as might have been expected from the evidence discussed in the literature review. In spite of the greater incidence of flexible and shorter working hours in that country, it seems that the West Germans are the least satisfied at work of all the four nationalities. From the results of the survey carried out for this study, they would appear to be moving away from the 'norm' of the other

three countries, who want more leisure at work, by wanting even shorter, and more condensed hours, and thus an even less relaxed day, so that they can 'get away' from work as soon as possible and be 'free'.

Evidence from previous studies and the present investigation indicates that the West Germans are the least likely to feel 'at home' at work, and therefore it is perhaps in West Germany that leisure most needs to be incorporated into work, for work to become more relaxing and enjoyable. This reflects the findings of Jungblut (1985), where the West Germans were shown to be less satisfied at work than the Japanese.

It has been shown in the literature review that most workers in all four countries do not want to take part in workplace sport and social events, and the survey in this study found that they would prefer more leisure in the form of freedom and autonomy to decide when, where and how they work. Such choices are all features of leisure, rather than of work. Although the literature implies that provision of recreational facilities at work is a way of increasing leisure at work, it has been shown in this study that workers may prefer the implementation of measures which would bring about more freedom and autonomy in their working patterns and thus increase the amount of leisure in work. The relative freedom or greater autonomy of West Europeans, compared with the Japanese, to choose when they work and for how long, could be an influential factor in their perceptions of work and the workplace. Although studies on worker autonomy exist, none was shown in the literature review to link this aspect of work with leisure.

The finding that the West German and British respondents, rather than the French and Japanese, want to determine their own work schedules, may indicate that they want more of the features of leisure in their work.

This is evidenced in two ways, firstly, in that the West Germans and British wanted more autonomy in their work, and/or that they wanted more free time at certain times in the day or week. Were workers to decide their own schedules, for example, some may prefer to start and finish work earlier than is usual at present, so that they have longer blocks of free time at the end of the workday.

There is evidence in the literature that the dividing line between work and leisure in Japan is less distinct than in the three West European countries (Linhart, 1984:565). The present study found, however, that there is more blurring of work and leisure in Britain and Japan than in France and West Germany. It may be that French and West German workers perceive less pleasure in work than their British counterparts. The Japanese may appear to have more leisure in work than the West Europeans because blurring is more evident resulting from work patterns peculiar to Japan, brought about by the so-called 'group' culture, which are illustrated in the literature review and analysis. The evidence from the literature and the survey indicates, moreover, that the Japanese do not gain much pleasure from being at work.

In Japan, an apparent lack of leisure outside the workplace may be countered, in part, by the amount and quality of leisure at work, which is in any case perhaps more ostensible than real. The differences in the number of weeks of holiday per year and number of hours work in the West and in Japan may therefore have relatively little bearing on the well-being of workers.

Furthermore, although Japanese employees may say they want shorter working hours, it is worth investigating if they actually want them in

practice. If in reality they did not want shorter hours, it could be because the Japanese work ethic is so ingrained that workers appear to be more content in work than they would be if they had to spend less time there. It might be a case of choosing the lesser of two evils.

Convergence and divergence

The findings of the study suggest that similar aspects of leisure at work are apparent in different pairs or groups of countries. In spite of the difference in volume of literature in the four countries, patterns have emerged from the results of the survey which suggest that there are similarities which link Japan and West Germany, and France and Britain. It is not being suggested in the present study that Japan and West Germany, and France and Britain are the same as each other, with regard to patterns of and aspirations for leisure at work, but that the findings in this study have identified similarities between these pairs. There is scope for further cross-cultural research to investigate such similarities between pairs of countries.

The results of the present study seem to indicate, moreover, that although aspirations in Japan are changing, behaviour patterns may initially change only slowly, since traditional attitudes could still remain stronger. It may thus appear that patterns of leisure at work are different in Japan than in the three West European countries, in that the Japanese respondents seemed to have less freedom and autonomy than the latter. The results suggest, however, that this phenomenon is concealing similarities in actual aspirations of the respondents for leisure at work. This is an area worthy of future investigation.

Divergence may be occurring in one respect, moreover, in that the move toward home-working in Japan may not be as rapid as in America or in West European countries, given the generally lower quality of housing in Japan, making working from home impracticable. If this trend develops in the West European countries but not in Japan, divergence in this respect in patterns of leisure at work in the Western countries and Japan could be expected. Leisure at work might then assume a much greater importance in Japan in relation to that in 'Western' countries.

Future areas of study

The work carried out for this thesis suggests that future cross-cultural researchers should be wary of following some of the models used in studies comparing Japan and America, as many of these tend to perpetuate popular stereotypes about the societies. To broaden the base of international cross-cultural studies, other countries in addition to Japan, the USA and West European nations should also be included in comparative research. For example, societies in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) should be compared with those in Japan and in 'the West'. So far, Japan seems to have been used as the 'Far Eastern example' in comparisons with Western countries, mostly because of her economic success. The many other countries in Asia should feature increasingly in comparative studies to reveal information which could lead to a greater international understanding of different societies.

Comparisons of Japan with Western countries have focused on subjects other than leisure, for example, business, quality control and management practices. Leisure is one area of research which is striking in the lack of attention it has received in comparative studies, and this is probably partly to do with the lack of research on leisure in Japan itself. As

leisure is increasingly becoming the object of sociological investigations in Japan (Nishino and Takahashi, 1989), it is an opportune time to increase the depth of cross-cultural comparisons based on this theme.

With the advent of the Single European Market in 1992, further in-depth studies on the similarities and differences of leisure at work within the member nations would be useful to enable individual states to benefit from increased knowledge about their own and other societies.

Research carried out in this way might have implications both for employees and employers which would require further examination. If leisure at work were accurately quantified by sociologists in terms of time and money, there might be negative repercussions in that measures might be taken to reduce the leisure at work of employees so that companies get maximum value for money out of the time the former spend at work.

Leisure at work could be considered in the context of stress management at work. The correlation, if any, between the amount of leisure experienced at work and levels of stress could be investigated. Similarly, the relationship between leisure at work and leisure outside work is also perhaps worthy of further study. Where leisure outside work is, for instance, unsatisfactory for an individual or group, the features of leisure at work might be used to improve the situation outside work.

Future studies comparing leisure at work in several countries could also benefit from the methodological lessons learnt in the present study. If a survey method has to be used, because of financial or other restraints, then the concept of leisure at work should be explained to respondents.

This was purposely not done in the present study in order to find out the extent to which employees themselves perceived that they had leisure at work. The result of this appeared to be that some respondents seemed not to have perceived leisure at work and therefore their answers to questions were perhaps not reliable as an indication of their actual behaviour. A benefit of this method used in the survey, however, was that it did reveal that attitudes toward leisure and work are still frequently firmly couched in terms of the Protestant and Samurai work ethics in the West European countries and Japan respectively, since many respondents seemed pleased to point out that there was no leisure at work.

If more time and resources were available, it would be preferable in the future to investigate leisure at work cross-culturally by making observations of employees at work and conducting face to face interviews with them. The answers they gave to questions about their behaviour could then be verified. At the same time, a researcher observing an employee taking part in what looks like a recreation or leisure activity at work could ask the latter whether the activity had been experienced as leisure. The conditions underlying the experience, whether it is leisure or not, could also be observed and analysed. Again, depending on resources, different researchers could be used in various countries, provided that the questions asked had equivalent meanings in the appropriate languages. In such a case, a decision would then need to be made about who draws together the similarities and differences found in the different countries. Cognizance would need to be taken of the fact that different interpretations would probably be made by researchers of various nationalities.

Another possible area for further comparative study could be the relationship between the home, the workplace and leisure. As the home becomes the workplace of a growing number of 'home-workers', the consequences for leisure at work for such people, as well as those who remain in offices outside the home, need to be assessed. As Pahl (1985) has pointed out, if work hours are reduced, then leisure will be reduced, because leisure experienced at work will disappear. The same phenomenon may occur if the workplace is transferred to the home and even if work hours are not reduced, since workplaces provide opportunities for leisure that the home may not, such as opportunities to socialize.

A further implication of home-working is that strategies of companies for providing leisure facilities may also need to change, since a growing proportion of their employees would not be coming to the office on a regular basis. In the long term, this may have an effect on the leisure of the community, since company facilities are often used by friends and relatives of employees as well as the general public. Further research could also be carried out in order to identify the implications of leisure at work for the leisure industry in general.

As suggested in the literature review and borne out by this thesis, cross-cultural studies of the type listed above could play a greater role in breaking down stereotypes that people hold about their own and other societies. By learning about patterns of behaviour and attitudes in other societies, individuals can gain a better insight into their own society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADRET, (1977) Travailler Deux Heures Par Jour, Translated by T.A. Sinclair, Paris, Seuil.
- AGRICOLA, S. (1986) Freizeit in Deutschland, Erkrath, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Freizeit.
- ANDERSON, N. (1961) Work and Leisure, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- ANDERSON, N. (1974) Man's Work and Leisure, Leiden, E.J. Brill.
- ARISTOTLE (1962) The Politics, Translated by T.A. Sinclair, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- ARGYLE, M. (1974) The Social Psychology of Work, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- ATSUMI, R. (1980) Patterns of personal relationships: a key to understanding Japanese thought and behaviour, in R. Mauer and Y. Sugimoto, Social Analysis, 5-6, Special Issue, Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions, Adelaide, 63-78.
- AUER, A. (1974) Anthropologische Überlegungen zum Freizeitproblem, in R. Schmitz-Scherzer (ed), Freizeit, Frankfurt-am-Main, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 31-41.
- AUSTIN, L. (ed) (1976) Japan: The Paradox of Progress, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.
- AUSTIN, L. (1976) The political culture of two generations: evolution and divergence in Japanese and American values, in L. Austin (ed), Japan: The Paradox of Progress, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 231-54.
- AZUMI, K. and McMILLAN, C.J. (1976) Worker sentiment in the Japanese factory: its organizational determinants, in L. Austin (ed), Japan: The Paradox of Progress, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 215-29.
- BÄCKER, G. and SEIFERT, H. (1983) Arbeitszeitpolitische Kontroverse: Individuelle Flexibilität oder tarifverträgliches Regelsystem, in C. Offe, K. Hinrichs and H. Wiesenhal (eds), Arbeitszeitpolitik: Formen und Folgen einer Neuverteilung der Arbeitszeit, Frankfurt-am-Main and New York, Campus, 244-59.
- BAILEY, P. (1989) Leisure, culture and the historian, Leisure Studies, 8 (2), 107-27.
- BASS, B.M. and RYTERBAND, E.C. (1973) Work and organizational life in 2001, in M.D. Dunnette, Work and Nonwork in the Year 2001, Monterey, California, Brooks/Cole, 134-52.
- BEARDSLEY, R.K., HALL, J.W. and WARD, R.E. (1968) Village Japan, 4th Edition, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press.
- BEFU, H. (1980) A Critique of the group model of Japanese society, in R. Mauer and Y. Sugimoto, Social Analysis, 5-6, Special Issue, Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions, Adelaide, 29-43.
- BEFU, H. (1980) Alternative models: the next step, in R. Mauer and Y. Sugimoto, Social Analysis, 5-6, Special Issue, Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions, Adelaide, 188-93.
- BELL, C. and HEALEY, P. (1973) The family and leisure, in M.A. Smith, S.R. Parker, C.S. Smith (eds), Leisure and Society in Britain, London, Allen Lane, 159-70.
- BENEDICT, R. (1954) The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, Tokyo, Tuttle.
- BENNINGHAUS, H. (1985) Substantielle Komplexität der Arbeit als zentrale Dimension der Jobstruktur, Institut für Soziologie, Technische Universität Berlin.
- BEST, F. (ed) (1973) The Future of Work, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.
- BORDAS ENCYCLOPÉDIE (1971) Sciences Sociales, 1, Bordas Éditeur.

- BOULIN, J.Y., HUIBAN, J.P., LOOS, J., ROSANVALLON, P. (1982) Survey of Research Work on the Interrelationships between Working Time and Leisure Time in Europe, Consolidated Report, Dublin, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.
- BROWN, R.K., BRANNEN, P., COUSINS, J. and SAMPHIER, M. (1973) Leisure in work: the 'occupational culture' of shipbuilding workers, in M.A. Smith, S.R. Parker, C.S. Smith (eds), Leisure and Society in Britain, London, Allen Lane, 97-110.
- BROWN, R.K. (1985) Work and leisure, in A. Kuper and J. Kuper (eds), The Social Science Encyclopedia, London, Boston and Henley, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 908-9.
- BURT, T. (1983) Recreation in industry, Personnel Executive, 2 (7), 28-32.
- CHERRY, G.E. and TRAVIS, A.S. (eds) (1980) Leisure in the 1980's. Alternative Futures, LSA Series No.12, European Foundation 1983, Consolidated Report, University of Birmingham, LSA Conference.
- CHERRY, G.E. (1984) Leisure and the home: a review of changing relationships, Leisure Studies, 3 (1), 35-52.
- CHILD, J. and MACMILLAN, B. (1973) Managers and their leisure, in M.A. Smith, S.R. Parker, C.S. Smith (eds), Leisure and Society in Britain, London, Allen Lane, 121-24.
- CLARK, R. (1979) The Japanese Company, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.
- CLARKE, J. and CRITCHER, C. (1985) The Devil Makes Work: Leisure in Capitalist Society, London, Macmillan.
- CLEAVER, C.G. (1978) Japanese and Americans. Cultural Parallels and Paradoxes, Tokyo, Tuttle.
- CLUTTERBUCK, D. and HILL, R. (1981) The Re-Making of Work, London, Grant McIntyre.
- COLE, R.E. (1976) Changing labor force characteristics and their impact on Japanese industrial relations, in L. Austin (ed), Japan: The Paradox of Progress, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 165-210.
- COLE, R.E. (1979) Work, Mobility and Participation: A Comparative Study of American and Japanese Industry, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press.
- COLLEY, A. (1984) Sex roles and explanations of leisure behaviour, Leisure Studies, 3 (3), 335-41.
- COLLINS ENGLISH DICTIONARY, (1989), London and Glasgow, Collins.
- COLLINS ROBERT FRENCH DICTIONARY, (1987), London and Glasgow, Collins.
- COLLINS GERMAN DICTIONARY, (1987), London and Glasgow, Collins.
- CRANDALL, R. and LEWKO, J. (1976) Leisure research, present and future: who, what, where, Journal of Leisure Research, 8 (3), 150-9.
- CRANDALL, R. (1977) A general bibliography of leisure publications, Journal of Leisure Research, 9 (1), 15-54.
- CREHAN, K. (1986) Women, work and the balancing act, in T.S. Epstein, K. Crehan, A. Gerzer and J. Sass (eds), Women, Work and Family: In Britain and Germany, London and Sydney, Croom Helm, 23-87.
- CREHAN, K. (1986) How the other half works, in T.S. Epstein, K. Crehan, A. Gerzer and J. Sass (eds), Women, Work and Family: In Britain and Germany, London and Sydney, Croom Helm, 205-9.
- CSIKSZENTMIHALYI, M. (1975) Beyond Boredom and Anxiety, San Francisco, Washington and London, Jossey-Bass.
- CSIKSZENTMIHALYI, M. (1981) Leisure and socialization, Social Forces, 60 (2), 332-41.

- CULLEN, P. (1979) Industrial recreation survey: provision and management of employee recreation programmes in large industrial and commercial concerns (England and Wales), unpublished notes on findings.
- CUNNINGHAM, H. (1980) Leisure in the Industrial Revolution 1780-1880, London, Croom Helm.
- CURSON, C. (ed) (1986) Flexible Patterns of Work, London, Institute of Personnel Management.
- CURSON, C. and PALMER, S. (1986) Conclusions and considerations, in C. Curson (ed), Flexible Patterns of Work, London, Institute of Personnel Management, 182-93.
- DAHLKVIST, M. (1985) Discussant's paper on work and culture, in B.O. Gustavsson, J.Ch. Karlsson and C. Raftegaard (eds), Work in the 1980's. Emancipation and Derogation, Aldershot and Vermont, Gower, 105-9.
- DEEM, R. (ed) (1980) Schooling for Women's Work, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- DEEM, R. (1982) Women, leisure and inequality, Leisure Studies, 1 (1), 29-46.
- DEEM, R. (1985) Leisure, work and unemployment: old traditions and new boundaries, in R. Deem and G. Salaman (eds) Work, Culture and Society. Issues and Debates in the Sociology of Work, Milton Keynes and Philadelphia, Open University Press, 179-207.
- DEEM, R. and SALAMAN, G. (eds) (1985) Work, Culture and Society. Issues and Debates in the Sociology of Work, Milton Keynes and Philadelphia, Open University Press.
- DEEM, R. (1986) All Work and No Play? The Sociology of Women and Leisure, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- DORE, R.P. (1973) British Factory, Japanese Factory. The Origins of National Diversity, London, Allen and Unwin.
- DORE, R.P. (1986) Flexible Rigidities. Industrial Policy and Structural Adjustment in the Japanese Economy 1970-80, London, The Athlone Press.
- DORE, R., BOUNINE-CABALÉ, J. and TAPIOLA, K. (1989) Japan at Work: Markets, Management and Flexibility, Paris, OECD.
- DUFOUR, C. and MOURIAUX, M-F. (1986) Comités d'Entreprise: Quarante Ans Après, Paris, IRES.
- DUMAZEDIER, J. (1961) Quelques influences du loisir sur le contenu de la vie familiale, Informations Sociales, 15 (8), 4-18.
- DUMAZEDIER, J. and RIPERT, A. (1966) Le Loisir et La Ville, Paris, Seuil.
- DUMAZEDIER, J. (1967) Toward a Society of Leisure, Translated by S.E. McClure, New York, The Free Press; London, Collier-Macmillan.
- DUMAZEDIER, J. (1968) Leisure, in D.L. Sills (ed), International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 9, London, Macmillan and The Free Press, 248-54.
- DUMAZEDIER, J. (1974) Sociology of Leisure, Translated by M. McKenzie, London and Amsterdam, Elsevier.
- DUMAZEDIER, J. (1975) The conception of changes in leisure and education, Society and Leisure, 7 (3), 57-62.
- DUMAZEDIER, J. (1976) Le Loisir et la Ville: Société Éducative et Pouvoir Culturel, Paris, Seuil.
- DUMAZEDIER, J. (1983) Temps sociaux, temps libre, Loisir et Société, 5 (2), 339-59.
- DUMAZEDIER, J. (1987) Comment conceptualiser le temps libre, in W. Grossin, Temporalistes, 5, 14-16.
- DUNNETTE, M.D., HOUGH, L., ROSETT, H., MUMFORD, E., FINE, S.A., (1973) Work and nonwork: merging human and societal needs, in M.D. Dunnette, Work and Nonwork in the Year 2001, Monterey, Brooks/Cole, 90-111.

- DUTEIL, F. (1975) Contribution du centre confédéral de la jeunesse de la CGT au problème de l'éducation et des loisirs de la jeunesse travailleuse, Society and Leisure, 6 (2), 57-67.
- EDGEELL, S. (1980) Middle-Class Couples: A Study of Segregation, Domination and Inequality in Marriage, London, Allen and Unwin.
- EPSTEIN, T.S., CREHAN, K., GERZER, A. and SASS, J. (1986) Women, Work and Family: In Britain and Germany, London, Croom Helm.
- EPSTEIN, T.S. (1986) Time management at work and at home, in T.S. Epstein, K. Crehan, A. Gerzer and J. Sass, Women, Work and Family: In Britain and Germany, London, Croom Helm, 3-20.
- EPSTEIN, T.S., Male managers and female employees, in T.S. Epstein, K. Crehan, A. Gerzer and J. Sass, Women, Work and Family: In Britain and Germany, London, Croom Helm, 88-105.
- EVANS, A. and ATTEW, A. (1986) Alternatives to full time permanent staff, in C. Curson (ed), Flexible Patterns of Work, London, Institute of Personnel Management, 90-142.
- EVANS, A. and BIRKETT, K. (1986) New patterns of flexible day working, in C. Curson (ed), Flexible Patterns of Work, London, Institute of Personnel Management, 26-58.
- FOURASTIÉ, J. (1972) Les 40,000 Heures, Paris, Denoël/Gonthier.
- FRASER, T.M. (1989) The Worker at Work: A Textbook Concerned with Men and Women in the Workplace, London, Taylor and Francis.
- FUJII, T. (1983) Women workers today, Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, 8, Tokyo and New York, 265-6.
- FUNKE, H. (1974) Freizeit in der Stadt, in R. Schmitz-Scherzer (ed), Freizeit, Frankfurt-am-Main, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 187-96.
- GARNER, L. (1986) Do you really want to work for the rest of your life? Options, 125-8.
- GERZER, A. (1986) The Beck department store: a case study, in T.S. Epstein, K. Crehan, A. Gerzer and J. Sass, Women, Work and Family: In Britain and Germany, London, Croom Helm, 118-63.
- GLASSER, R. (1970) Leisure: Penalty or Prize? London, Macmillan.
- GLASSER, R. (1973) Leisure and the search for a satisfying identity, in M.A. Smith, S.R. Parker and C. Smith (eds), Leisure and Society in Great Britain, London, Allen Lane, 56-65.
- GLYPTIS, S. and CHAMBERS, D. (1982) No place like home, Leisure Studies, 1 (1), 247-62.
- GLYPTIS, S. (1989) Leisure and Unemployment, Milton Keynes and Philadelphia, Open University Press.
- GORZ, A. (1980) Adieux au Proletariat: Au-delà du Socialisme, Paris, Galilée.
- HANTRAIS, L. (1982) Leisure and the family in contemporary France, Leisure Studies, 1 (1), 81-94.
- HANTRAIS, L. (1984) Social Inequalities in Leisure and French Government Policy. Leisure, Politics and Planning and People, Sussex University, Brighton, Abstracts of Seminar Presentations.
- HANTRAIS, L., CLARK, P.A. and SAMUEL, N. (1984) Time-space dimensions of work, family and leisure in France and Great Britain, Leisure Studies, 3 (3), 301-17.
- HANTRAIS, L., MANGEN, S. and O'BRIEN, M. (eds) (1985) Doing Cross-National Research. Cross-National Research Papers, 1, Aston Modern Languages Club, Aston University, Birmingham.
- HANTRAIS, L. (1986a) L'évolution des pratiques de loisir et le changement social, Loisir et Société/Society and Leisure, 9 (2), 363-76.
- HANTRAIS, L. (1986b) Leisure policy in France and the relation of social inequalities, Social Policy and Administration, 20 (2), 125-35.

- HARGREAVES, D. (1981) Unemployment, leisure and education, Oxford Review of Education, 7 (3), 197-210.
- HAVIGHURST, R.J. (1957) The leisure activities of the middle-aged, American Journal of Sociology, LXII, 159-62.
- HAVIGHURST, R.J. and FEIGENBAUM, K. (1959) Leisure and Life Style, American Journal of Sociology, 64, 396-404.
- HAWORTH, J.T. (1974) Human needs, work and leisure, Society and Leisure, 1 (3), 5-21.
- HAWORTH, J.T. (1984) The perceived nature of meaningful pursuits and the social psychology of commitment, Society and Leisure, 7 (1), 197-216.
- HAWORTH, L. (1984) Leisure, work and profession, Leisure Studies, 3 (3), 319-34.
- HENDRY, J. (1989) Understanding Japanese Society, London and New York, Routledge.
- HENEMAN, H.G. Jr. (1973) Work and nonwork: historical perspectives, in M.D. Dunnette, Work and Nonwork in the Year 2001, Monterey, California, Brooks/Cole, 12-28.
- HEYER, G. (1983) Lage, Dauer und Verteilung: Mögliche Ansatzpunkte einer arbeitszeitbezogenen Beschäftigungs- und Humanisierungspolitik, in C. Offe, K. Hinrichs, H. Wiesenenthal (eds), Arbeitszeitpolitik. Formen und Folgen einer Neuverteilung der Arbeitszeit, Frankfurt-am-Main and New York, Campus, 146-59.
- HIELSCHER, G. (1985) Der große Urlaub - noch eine Utopie, Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4.1.85, 3.
- HINRICHS, K. and WIESENTHAL, H. (1983) Arbeitswerte und Arbeitszeit: zur Pluralisierung von Wertmustern und Zeitverwendungswünschen in der modernen Industriegesellschaft, in C. Offe, K. Hinrichs and H. Wiesenenthal (eds), Arbeitszeitpolitik. Formen und Folgen einer Neuverteilung der Arbeitszeit, Frankfurt-am-Main and New York, Campus, 116-36.
- INOUE, S. (1983) Leisure, in Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, 4, Tokyo and New York, 381-2.
- ISHIDA, T. (1971) The Japanese Society, New York, Random House.
- ISO-AHOLA, S. (1979) Basic dimensions of definitions of leisure, Journal of Leisure Research, 11 (1), 28-39.
- ITOH, S., OTAKE, M., AMANO, H., AMANO, H., MORI, M., SENUMA, Y., ISHIRO, S. and SUZUKI, T. (1988) Time spent on socio-cultural activities by Japanese urban male employees and their wives: a time use survey conducted in Tama New Town, Tokyo, Journal of Home Economics, Japan, 39 (6), 553-61.
- JACOB-GOLDECK, M., and JACOB, H. (1974) Aspekte der Freizeitnutzung grünbestimmter Freiräume, in R. Schmitz-Scherzer (ed), Freizeit, Frankfurt-am-Main, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 202-28.
- JANSEN-VERBEKE, M. (1987) Women, shopping and leisure, Leisure Studies, 6 (1), 71-86.
- JENKINS, C. and SHARMAN, B. (1979) The Collapse of Work, London, Eyre Methuen.
- JENKINS, C. and SHARMAN, B. (1981) The Leisure Shock, London, Eyre Methuen.
- JETRO (1988) Nippon: Business Facts and Figures, Tokyo, Jetro.
- JONES, S.G. (1986) Workers at Play. A Social and Economic History of Leisure 1918-1939, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- JUNGBLUT, M. (1985) Kein Spaß am Job? Im Unterschied zu Japan nimmt in der Bundesrepublik die Arbeitszufriedenheit ab. Die Arbeit in der Zukunft: Sicher-Human-Weltbewerbsfähig, München, Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag.

- KAHN, R.L. (1981) Work and Health, New York, Wiley.
- KAMATA, S. (1983) Japan in the Passing Lane, translated and edited by T. Akimoto, Boston, London and Sydney, Allen and Unwin.
- KELLY, J.R. (1972) Work and leisure: a simplified paradigm, Journal of Leisure Research, 4 (1), 50-62.
- KELLY, J.R. (1973) Three measures of leisure activity: a note on the continued incommensurability of oranges, apples and artichokes, Journal of Leisure Research, 5, 56-65.
- KELLY, J.R. (1974a) Sociological perspectives and leisure research, Current Sociology, 22, 127-58.
- KELLY, J.R. (1974b) Socialization toward leisure: a developmental approach, Journal of Leisure Research, 6, 181-93.
- KELLY, J.R. (1975a) Leisure decisions: exploring intrinsic and role-related orientations, Society and Leisure, 4, 45-61.
- KELLY, J.R. (1975b) Life styles and leisure choices, The Family Coordinator, 24 (2), 185-90.
- KELLY, J.R. (1976) Leisure and Sport. A Sociological Approach, Illinois, Pape.
- KELLY, J.R. (1978) Family leisure in three communities, Journal of Leisure Research, 10 (1), 47-60.
- KELLY, J.R. (1978) A revised paradigm of leisure choices, Leisure Sciences, 1 (4), 345-63.
- KELLY, J.R. (1980) Leisure, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.
- KELLY, J.R. (1986) Commodification of leisure: trend or tract? Loisir et Société/Society and Leisure, 9 (2), 455-75.
- KLEIBER, D.A. (1984) Sport and the Developmental Function of Leisure, Paper given at the World Research Congress on Free Time and Leisure, Marly-le-Roi, France.
- KORMAN, A.K. (1977) Organizational Behaviour. Technology and Behaviour. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.
- KUMAZAWA, M. and YAMADA, J. (1989) Jobs and skills under the lifelong nenko employment practice, in S. Wood (ed), The Transformation of Work? London, Unwin Hyman, 102-26.
- LAROUSSE EN COULEURS (1966), 2-3, Paris, Librairie Larousse
- LEHR, U. (1974) Der entwicklungspsychologische Aspekt des Freizeitverhaltens, in R. Schmitz-Scherzer (ed), Freizeit, Frankfurt-am-Main, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 229-32.
- LEHR, U. (1974) Freizeit und Familie, in R. Schmitz-Scherzer (ed), Freizeit, Frankfurt-am-Main, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 303-6.
- LINDER, S.B. (1970) The Harried Leisure Class, New York and London, Columbia University Press.
- LINHART, D. (1981) L'Appel de la Sirène ou l'Accoutumance au Travail, Paris, Sycomore (PAC).
- LINHART, S. (1975) The use and meaning of leisure in present-day Japan, in W.G. Beasley, Modern Japan. Aspects of History, Literature and Society, London, Allen and Unwin, 198-208.
- LINHART, S. (1976) Arbeit, Freizeit und Familie in Japan, Schriften des Instituts für Asienkunde in Hamburg Band 43, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.
- LINHART, S. (1984) Gesellschaft, in H. Hammitzsch (ed), Japan-Handbuch, Second Edition, Stuttgart, Steiner, 511-68.
- LISLE, E.A. (1985) Validation in the social sciences by international comparison, in L. Hantrais, S. Mangen and M. O'Brien, M. (eds) Doing Cross-National Research, Cross-national Research Papers, 1, 11-28.

- McGOWN, V. (1980) Paternalism: A definition, in R. Mouer and Y. Sugimoto, Social Analysis, 5-6, Special Issue, Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions, Adelaide, 102-24.
- MILLS, C.W. (1973) The Meanings of work throughout history, in F. Best, (ed), The Future of Work, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 6-13.
- MISUMI, J. (1983) The Meaning of Working Life, Fukuoka, Institute for Group Dynamics.
- MOUER, R. and SUGIMOTO, Y. (1980) Multiple dimensions in the delineation of job situations in Japan and the United States, in R. Mouer and Y. Sugimoto (eds), Social Analysis, 5-6, Special Issue, Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions, Adelaide, 79-101.
- MOUER, R. and SUGIMOTO, Y. (1980) Competing models for understanding Japanese society: some reflections on new directions, in R. Mouer and Y. Sugimoto (eds), Social Analysis, 5-6, Special Issue, Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions, Adelaide, 194-204.
- MOUER, R. and SUGIMOTO, Y. (eds) (1986) Images of Japanese Society. A Study in the Structure of Social Reality, London, New York, Sydney and Henley, Routledge and Kegan Paul International.
- NAHRSTEDT, W. (1974) Freizeitpädagogik in der Nachindustriellen Gesellschaft, Neuwied/Darmstadt, Luchterhand.
- NAHRSTEDT, W. (1983) Die Zukunft von Bildung, Arbeit und Freizeit: Berufsarbeit wird knapp - Chance für gesellschaftliche Arbeit? Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, 18, 250-7.
- NAHRSTEDT, W., STEINECKE, A., THEVIS, W. (1986) IFKA-Info, Institut für Freizeitwissenschaft und Kulturarbeit
- NAHRSTEDT, W. (1986) Freizeitpädagogik, in H. Hierdeis (ed), Taschenbuch der Pädagogik, 1 (2), Baltmannsweiler, Schneider, 222-35.
- NEFF, W.S. (1968) Work and Human Behaviour, New York, Atherton Press.
- NEULINGER, J. (1974) The Psychology of Leisure, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas.
- NEULINGER, J. (1981) The Psychology of Leisure, 2nd Edition, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas.
- NEULINGER, J. (1981) To Leisure, Boston and London, Allyn and Bacon.
- NEULINGER, J. (1986) 'What Am I Doing' - The WAID. An Introductory Guide Designed to Help You Measure and Improve the Quality of Your Life, New York, The Leisure Institute.
- NEUSTUPNÝ, J.V. (1980) On Paradigms in the Study of Japan, in R. Mouer and Y. Sugimoto (eds), Social Analysis, 5-6, Special Issue, Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions, Adelaide, 20-8.
- NICHOLSON, J. (1987) Work, pleasure or pain? Sunday Times, 19.4.87, 67.
- NISHINO, J. and TAKAHASHI, K. (1989) Current leisure and recreation research in Japan, World Leisure and Recreation, 31 (2), 11-14.
- NOZAWA, H. (1975) Rōdō to Yoka (Work and Leisure), Tokyo, The Japan Institute of Labour.
- NOZAWA, H. (1987) The present conditions of working hours and the socio-cultural background of the understanding of leisure in Japan, Part 1, Analysis from the legal sociological points of View, Science of Labour, 63 (3).
- NOZAWA, H. (1987) Time use and life style of employed husbands and wives in an urban new town, Part 2, Analysis from the legal sociological points of view, Science of Labour, 63 (3).
- NOZAWA, H. (1990) Unpublished information supplied by the author.
- OFFE, C., HINRICHS, K., and WIESENTHAL, H. (eds) (1983) Arbeitszeitpolitik. Formen und Folgen einer Neuverteilung der Arbeitszeit, 2nd Edition, Frankfurt-am-Main and New York, Campus.

- OFFE, C. (1984) Arbeitsgesellschaft. Strukturpolitik und Zukunftsperspektiven, Frankfurt-am-Main and New York, Campus.
- OMURA, T. (1983) Foreword, in J. Misumi, The Meaning of Working Life, Fukuoka, Institute for Group Dynamics, I-II.
- OPASCHOWSKI, H.W. (1972) Arbeit, Freizeit, Lebenssinn? Opladen, Leske.
- ORTHNER, D.K. (1974) Leisure activities and family interaction, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida State University.
- PAHL, R.E. (1985) Time and the Social Relationship of Everyday Tasks, Paper at ESRC Franco-British Seminar, Aston University, Birmingham.
- PARKER, S.R. (1971) The Future of Work and Leisure, London, Allen and Unwin.
- PARKER, S.R. (1972) The Sociology of Industry, 2nd Edition, London, Allen and Unwin.
- PARKER, S.R. (1973) Relations between Work and Leisure, in M.A. Smith, S.R. Parker and C.S. Smith (eds), Leisure and Society in Britain, London, Allen Lane, 75-85.
- PARKER, S.R. (1975) The sociology of leisure: progress and problems, The British Journal of Sociology, 26 (1), 91-101.
- PARKER, S.R. (1975) Evolution and trends in work and non-work time, Society and Leisure, 7 (1), 73-88.
- PARKER, S.R. (1976) The Sociology of Leisure, London, Allen and Unwin.
- PARKER, S.R. (1981) Change, flexibility, spontaneity and self-determination in leisure, Social Forces, 60, 323-31.
- PARKER, S.R. (1982) Work and Retirement, London, Allen and Unwin.
- PARKER, S.R. (1983) Leisure and Work, London, Allen and Unwin.
- PHARR, S. (1976) The Japanese woman: evolving views of life and role, in L. Austin, Japan: Paradox of Success, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 301-27.
- PLATH, D. (1964) The After Hours: Modern Japan and the Search for Enjoyment, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- PLATH, D. (1980) Long Engagements. Maturity in Modern Japan, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press.
- PORTER, L.W. (1973) Turning Work into Nonwork: The Rewarding Environment, in M.D. Dunnette (ed), Work and Nonwork in the Year 2001, Monterey, California, Brooks/Cole, 113-33.
- PUCIK, V. and HATVANY, N. (1980) Management practices in Japan: an integrated system focusing on human resources, in R. Mouer and Y. Sugimoto (eds), Social Analysis, 5-6, Special Issue, Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions, Adelaide, 154-69.
- READING, H.F. (1976) A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, London and Athens, Sociologia Publications.
- REISCHAUER, E.O. (1976) Japan, the Story of a Nation, Tokyo, Tuttle.
- REISCHAUER, E.O. and Craig, A.M. (1978) Japan: Tradition and Transformation, Boston and London, Houghton Mifflin.
- REISCHAUER, E.O. (1980) The Japanese, 18th Edition, Tokyo, Tuttle.
- REUBAND, K-H. (1985) Arbeit und Wertewandel - mehr Mythos als Realität? Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 37, 723-46.
- ROBERTS, J. (1983) Playing at work, Leisure Studies, 2 (2), 217-29.
- ROBERTS, K. (1970) Leisure, London, Longman.
- ROBERTS, K. (1981) Leisure, 2nd Edition, London, Longman.
- ROBERTS, K. (1978) Contemporary Society and the Growth of Leisure, London, Longman.

- ROBERTS, K. and CHAMBERS, D.A. (1985) Changing 'times': hours of work/patterns of leisure, World Leisure and Recreation, xxvii (1), 17-23.
- ROHLEN, T.P. (1974) For Harmony and Strength. Japanese White-collar Organisation in Anthropological Perspective, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- ROHLEN, T.P. (1983) Japan's High Schools, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press.
- ROTHIG, (1977) Sportwissenschaftliche Lexikon
- RUDINGER, G. (1974) Nutzung der Medien Fernsehen und Hörfunk, in R. Schmitz-Scherzer (ed), Freizeit, Frankfurt-am-Main, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 406-57.
- RUSSELL, B. (1935) In Praise of Idleness and Other Essays, 5th Impression, London, Allen and Unwin.
- RYTERBAND, E.C. and BASS, B.M. (1973) Work and nonwork: perspectives in the context of change, in M.D. Dunnette (ed), Work and Nonwork in the Year 2001, Monterey, California, Brooks/Cole, 69-89.
- SAMUEL, N. (1982) Image of the weekend, in S.R. Parker, Leisure, Work and the Family, Paper at 10th World Congress of Sociology, Mexico City, 58-64.
- SAMUEL, N. (1983) Loisir, valeurs et structure symbolique des temps sociaux, Loisir et Société, 5 (2), 321-38.
- SASS, J. (1986) The German debate, in T.S. Epstein, K. Crehan, A. Gerzer and J. Sass, Women, Work and Family: In Britain and Germany, London and Sydney, Croom Helm, 109-17.
- SCHAGINGER, E.M. (1974) Arbeit und Freizeit, in R. Schmitz-Scherzer (ed), Freizeit, Frankfurt-am-Main, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 317-26.
- SCHERHORN, G. and EICHLER, G. (1971) Der Wunsch nach Sportlichen Erholungszentren in der Großstadt, HWP, Kleine Schriften der Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Politik, Frankfurt-am-Main.
- SCHEUCH, E.K. (1965) Die Problematik der Freizeit in der Massengesellschaft, Berlin, De Gruyter, 104-27.
- SCHEUCH, E.K. (1967) Die Bedeutung der Freizeit im Gesellschaftlichen Wandel, Erste Fach-Tagung, Deutsche Sporthochschule Köln, 50-7.
- SCHEUCH, E.K. (1969) Soziologie der Freizeit, Sonderdruck aus: Handbuch der Empirischen Sozialforschung, II Band 1969, Stuttgart, Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 735-54.
- SCHEUCH, E.K. (1984) Wohin Steuert die Bundesrepublik Deutschland? Von der Arbeitsgesellschaft zur Freizeitgesellschaft? Paper given at Hannover-Messe, Vortragsveranstaltungen der Norddeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale (Nord/LB), 37-58.
- SCHEUCH, E.K. (1983) Freizeit als Lebensinhalt? Wandel der Bedeutung von Arbeit und Freizeit, 1-30, copy supplied by author.
- SCHMITZ-SCHERZER, R. (ed) (1974) Freizeit, Frankfurt-am-Main, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft.
- SCHMITZ-SCHERZER, R. and STRÖDEL, I. (1974) Zur Altersabhängigkeit von Freizeitbeschäftigungen, in R. Schmitz-Scherzer (ed), Freizeit, Frankfurt-am-Main, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 286-9.
- SHARMAN, B. (1986) Working at Leisure, London, Methuen.
- SHINMURA, I. (1988) (ed) Kojien Japanese Dictionary, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten
- SILLITOE, K.K. (1969) Planning for Leisure, London, HMSO.
- SMIGEL, E.O. (ed) (1963) Work and Leisure: A Contemporary Social Problem, New Haven, Connecticut, College and University Press.
- SMITH, R.J. (1961) Japan: the later years of life and the concept of time, in R.W. Kleemeier (ed), Aging and Leisure, New York, Oxford University Press, 95-100.

- SMITH, M.A. (1973) Work and Leisure: Problems of Culture and Identity, Paper: British Psychological Society Conference, Lancaster.
- SMITH, M.A., PARKER, S.R., SMITH, C.S. (eds) (1973) Leisure and Society in Britain, London, Allen Lane.
- SMITH, M.A. (1978) Leisure: a perspective on contemporary society, Loisir et Société/Society and Leisure, 1 (1), 13-32.
- SPICER, J. (1988) Britain's image as a nation strikers 'a myth', The Times, 4.1.88, 19.
- STOETZEL, J. (1983) Les Valeurs du Temps Présent: Une Enquête Européenne. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
- STONE, G.P. (1958) American sports: play and display, in R. Larrabee, and R. Meyersohn (eds), Mass Leisure, Glencoe, IL, Free Press, 253-63.
- STORMANN, W. (1989) Work: true leisure's home? Leisure Studies, 8, 25-33.
- SUE, R. (1980) Le Loisir, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
- SUGIMOTO, Y. and MOUER, R. (1980) Reappraising images of Japanese society, in R. Mouer and Y. Sugimoto, Social Analysis, Special Issue, Japanese Society: Reappraisals and New Directions, 5-19.
- SZALAI, A. (ed) (1972) The Use of Time: Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations in Twelve Countries, The Hague, Mouton.
- SZALAI, A. and ANDREWS, F.M. (1980) The Quality of Life: Comparative Studies, London, Sage.
- TALBOT, M. (1979) Women and Leisure, London, Sports Council/Social Science Research Council.
- TALBOT, M. (1980) Women and Sport. A Leisure Studies Perspective, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, CURS.
- TASKER, P. (1987) Inside Japan. Wealth, Work and Power in the New Japanese Empire, London, Sidgwick and Jackson.
- TERKEL, S. (1975) Working, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- TOKARSKI, W. (1983) The situation of leisure research in West Germany with emphasis on the methodological aspects, Société et Loisir/Society and Leisure, 6 (2), 493-506.
- TORKILDSEN, G. (1986) Leisure and Recreation Management, 2nd edition, London and New York, Spon.
- TROMMSDORF, G. (1983) Value change in Japan, International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 7 (4), 337-60.
- TYRELL, B. (1982) Work, Leisure and Social Change, in M.F. Collins (ed), Leisure Research: Current Findings and the Future Challenge. A report of a joint seminar held at Imperial College London, 1981, The Sports Council, The Social Science Research Council, The Leisure Studies Association, 90-5.
- UPSHALL, M. (ed) (1980) The Hutchinson Encyclopedia, 8th Edition, London, Century Hutchinson.
- VEAL, A.J. (1987) Leisure and the Future, London, Allen and Unwin.
- VOGEL, E.F. (ed) (1976) Modern Japanese Organization and Decision-Making, Berkeley and London, University of California Press.
- VOGEL, E.F. (1982) Japan as No. 1: Lessons for America, 7th Edition, Tokyo, Tuttle.
- VOß, P. (1986) Freizeit Gestern und Heute, in P. Voß (ed), Freie Zeit. Was Nun? Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 7-25.
- WAHRIG, G. (1968) Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch, Bertelsmann Lexikon-Verlag, Gütersloh.
- WATTS, A.G. (1983) Education, Unemployment and the Future of Work, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- WHITE, M. and TREVOR, M. (1983) Under Japanese Management. The Experience of British Workers, London, Heinemann.

- WILSON, R. (1986) The Sun at Noon. An Anatomy of Modern Japan, London, Hamish Hamilton.
- WNUK-LIPINSKI, E. (1976) Patterns of Leisure and Development of Women's Personality, Society and Leisure, 3, 241-252.
- WOESLER, D.M. (1976) Familienpolitik und Freizeit. Öffentliches Symposium in Essen anlässlich der Ausstellung GARTEN, Edition Freizeit, 18, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Freizeit.
- WOOD, S. (ed) (1989) The Transformation of Work? London, Unwin Hyman.
- WORONOFF, J. (1982) Japan's Wasted Workers, 3rd Edition, Tokyo, Lotus Press.
- WORONOFF, J. (1983) Japan: the Coming Economic Crisis, Tokyo, Lotus Press.
- WORONOFF, J. (1985) The Japan Syndrome, Tokyo, Lotus Press.
- YAMAGUCHI, Y. (1987) A Cross-national Study of Socialization into Physical Activity in Corporate Settings: The Case of Japan and Canada, Sociology of Sport Journal, 4, 61-77.
- ZADROZNY, J.T. (1959) Dictionary of Social Science, Washington, Public Affairs Press.

APPENDICES

February 1988

Survey of attitudes towards leisure and work in selected companies in England,
France, The German Federal Republic and Japan.

ABOUT ME - THE RESEARCHER

My name is Jennifer Fell and during the last ten years I have lived, studied and worked in each of the countries mentioned above. My observations about the effects of different working patterns and attitudes on work satisfaction and efficiency, and on contentment with life in general, inspired me to study these phenomena.

The aims of this study are to compare different working patterns and attitudes in these four countries, and to highlight aspects of them which may be mutually beneficial. The research will be used as part of a PhD thesis.

I would be grateful if you would take the time to complete this questionnaire. If you would like to have a copy of the results of the survey, please send the enclosed stamped envelope addressed to yourself.

All replies will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. This study is independent of any official bodies.

You will find that most questions can be answered by circling the appropriate numbers or numbers on the left. For example:

Are you:

1. French
- ☒ 2. British
3. German

It would be helpful if you could provide any additional information or comments in the space provided at the end of the questionnaire.

ABOUT YOU

Which of the following best describes your position at work?

- 1 employee
- 2 middle manager
- 3 senior manager
- 4 director
- 5 other (specify: _____)

What is your date of birth?

Are you:

- 1 Female 2 Male

What is the highest academic and/or vocational qualification you have achieved?

- 1 'O' Levels
- 2 'A' Levels
- 3 College Diploma
- 4 Bachelor's Degree
- 5 Higher Degree (specify:
- 6 other (specify:

Are you:

- 1 living alone
- 2 married or living with someone

Do you have any children?

- 1 yes
- 2 no

If yes, how many?

- 1
- 2
- 3 or more

YOUR WORK

1. How long have you worked for this company?

2. How long is your paid work week, including lunchtime?

.....hours

3. How many hours overtime do you do at work per week, on average?

Is the overtime usually:

- 1 paid
- 2 unpaid

4. Are your working hours:

- 1 fixed
- 2 flexible
- 3 other possibilities (specify:

5. How long are you away from home on workdays, on average, including travel?

- 1 8 hours or less
- 2 8 - 12 hours
- 3 more than 12 hours
- 4 variable

6. If you had the choice, which would you prefer to do?

- 1 earn less and have more free time
- 2 earn more and work more
- 3 keep your present situation

7. In 1986-87 what was your annual gross income?

.....

WORK AND LEISURE PATTERNS AT WORK

8. Which of the following patterns best resembles your present working situation?

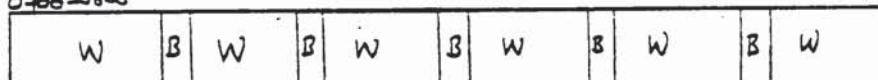
1. 0800-0900

1730-1830



2. 0700-0800

1900-2000



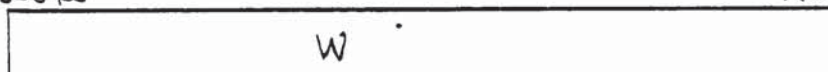
3. 0700-0830

1800-2200



4. 0800-0900

1900-2000



5. 0700-0830

1300-1400



9. At what time do you generally start work?

At what time do you generally finish work?

10. If you had a choice, which of the above patterns (qn. 8) would you prefer?

1 2 3 4 5

11. If there is a lull in your work, allowing you some spare time, which of the following do you usually do?

- 1 nothing
- 2 chat to fellow workers
- 3 chat on the phone
- 4 take a break outside the office
- 5 take a break in the office
- 6 find other work to do
- 7 other (specify: _____)

12. How many minutes does your contract allow you to take for your lunchbreak?

.....minutes

13. In practice how long do you generally take for your lunchbreak?

.....minutes

14. Do you feel that your lunchbreak is usually:

- 1 too long
- 2 just right
- 3 too short
- 4 far too short
- 5 non-existent

15. Working from home is becoming increasingly common. How do you feel about working from home, for example, with a computer which is linked to a central office? Given a choice which would you like to do?

- 1 work from home
- 2 go out to work
- 3 other (specify:

Please give reasons for your choice.

16. What are the main advantages for you of going out to work?

- 1 I enjoy socializing with people at work
- 2 it gets me out of the house
- 3 it gets me away from my family
- 4 there are better chances of promotion
- 5 other (specify:

17. What are the main disadvantages for you of going out to work?

- 1 travel time
- 2 cost of travel
- 3 I see less of my family than I would like to
- 4 there is more supervision of my work than I would like
- 5 I have too little individual freedom at work
- 6 there is too little time for leisure after work
- 7 there are too many interruptions from colleagues
- 8 other (specify:

18. How important is the workplace as a meeting place for you?

- 1 important for meeting people in general
- 2 important for meeting a potential marriage partner
- 3 not important for meeting people in general
- 4 not important for meeting a potential marriage partner

19. Below are some statements about work and working conditions. Indicate your preferences by circling one number for each item.

CODE: 1 = I want to. 2 = I don't want to

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | take more decisions at work than I do now | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 2 | have less supervision | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 3 | have shorter working hours | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 4 | have the opportunity to rest after lunch at work | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 5 | have more breaks during the day | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 6 | have a much shorter commuting distance | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 7 | work from home | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 8 | work in a friendlier office | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 9 | have more choice in the hours that I work | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 10 | earn more money | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 11 | have more choice in what I do at work | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 12 | learn a foreign language at work (specify language: | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 13 | work in order to be able to enjoy my free time | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 14 | go out to work in order to get away from my family | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 15 | have fewer interruptions from colleagues | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 16 | work in a more concentrated way so that I could go home earlier | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 17 | keep my work and leisure distinctly separate | |
| | 1 2 | |
| 18 | have my work and leisure overlap with each other | |
| | 1 2 | |

-
20. Do you feel 'at home' at your workplace?

1 yes 2 no

In general, do you feel more content:

1 at home
2 at work

LEISURE ACTIVITIES AT WORK

21. I am interested in finding out about activities at work which could be called leisure activities. Please fill in the following table.

Column 1: Write the approximate number of minutes you spend in an average workday doing each activity in the list.

Column 2: Write the letter which indicates where you mainly do the activity.

CODE: D = at your desk
O = in your office
C = canteen
R = restaurant outside your workplace
A = other: please specify as appropriate

Column 3: Write the letter which indicates which indicates what the activity is

CODE: L = leisure
W = work
B = boredom reliever
F = family obligation
S = act of aggression, or rebellion.
IN = irritating interruption

Note: you may need to give two or more answers for an item. For example, if you drink tea both in your office and in the canteen, write: O/C in Column 2.

1	2	3	ACTIVITIES
			1 reading
			2 chatting with co-workers
			3 drinking tea/coffee (outside lunchbreak)
			4 eating snacks (outside lunchbreak)
			5 chatting on the phone
			6 doing nothing
			7 day-dreaming
			8 having a nap
			9 doing a sport: (specify sport:
			10 participation in company club, society: (specify activity:
			11 going to social events at the company:
			12 flirting with colleagues and/or clients
			13 shopping
			14 playing cards or other games
			15 smoking
			16 learning a foreign language (specify language(s) you are learning:
			17 other (specify:

22. Of the activities in question 21 which three do you like doing best?

1
2
3

23. If given the choice which of the following would you prefer?

- 1 spend less time socializing and more time working at work
 - 2 spend less time working and more time socializing
 - 3 spend the same time working and socializing as I do now
 - 4 work in a more concentrated way so I could go home earlier
-

24. This questionnaire is being answered by employees in similar companies to yours in France, West Germany and Japan. Please indicate which country you think corresponds most closely to each of the following statements. Write: France, Britain, West Germany or Japan in the boxes. Do not repeat the same country twice.

1 In this country a lot of time is taken by employees for leisure activities at the workplace. In other words, frequent breaks are taken during the working day.

2 In this country employees work long hours with few breaks. There are very few leisure activities at the workplace.

3 In this country working conditions such as pay, hours, benefits and so on are very good. There are frequent opportunities for leisure activities at the workplace.

4 In this country employees' pay is quite good but conditions are not very good. For example, working hours are long and there are not many benefits.

25. How long did this questionnaire take to fill in?

.....minutes

If you have further comments to make, please use the other side of this page.

Your help is greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Jennifer Fell

Sehr geehrte(r) Frau, Herr,

für eine Doktorarbeit an der Universität zu Aston, Birmingham, England, studiere ich die Werte und Einstellungen Angestellter gegenüber Arbeit und Freizeit in Japan und in Westeuropa. Ich bitte Sie, diesen Fragebogen auszufüllen.

Ich möchte Ihnen versichern, daß Ihre Angaben ausschließlich wissenschaftlichen Zwecken dienen. Die Befragung ist vollkommen anonym. Ihr Name wird nirgends genannt. Ich stehe auch in keinerlei Verbindung zu irgendwelchen Behörden.

Weitere Informationen sind willkommen.

Ich bin Ihnen für Ihre Mitarbeit sehr dankbar.

Notieren Sie bitte am Ende, wie lange es gedauert hat, diesen Fragebogen auszufüllen.

Jennifer Fell

Februar 1988

Untersuchung über die Vorstellungen gegenüber Arbeit und Freizeit in
ausgewählten Firmen in der Bundesrepublik, England, Frankreich und Japan.

DIE FORSCHERIN

Mein Name ist Jennifer Fell und während der letzten zehn Jahre habe ich in den vier obengenannten Ländern gewohnt, studiert und gearbeitet. Die Beobachtungen, die ich über die Auswirkungen der verschiedenen Arbeitsmodelle und -vorstellungen auf die Befriedigung mit dem Leben im allgemeinen gemacht habe, haben mich dazu gebracht, diese Phänomene zu studieren.

Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist, die verschiedenen Arbeitsmodelle und -vorstellungen zu vergleichen und die Aspekte hervorzuheben, die gegenseitig benützlich sein könnten. Die Untersuchung ist Teil einer Doktorarbeit.

Falls Sie eine Kopie der Ergebnisse dieser Umfrage haben möchten, bitte adressieren Sie den beiliegenden Briefumschlag und schicken Sie ihn mit dem von Ihnen ausgefüllten Fragebogen zurück.

Um die meisten Fragen zu beantworten, brauchen Sie nur einen Kreis um die entsprechenden Ziffern zu machen. Zum Beispiel:

Sind Sie:

- ☒ 1. Deutsch
- ☐ 2. Französisch
- ☐ 3. Britisch

Es würde sehr hilfreich sein, wenn sie weitere Informationen am Ende des Fragebogens geben könnten.

SIE - DER/DIE BEANTWORTENDE

Welche Position haben Sie in Ihrer Firma? (z.B.: Sekretärin, Manager, Abteilungsleiter, usw.)

Wann sind Sie geboren?

Sind Sie: 1 weiblich 2 männlich

Was ist die höchste Abschlußprüfung, die Sie gemacht haben? (z.B.: Mittlere Reife, Abitur, Universitätsabschluß, usw.)

Sind Sie:

- 1 alleinlebend
- 2 verheiratet oder mit jemandem zusammenlebend

Haben Sie Kinder?

- 1 ja
- 2 nein

Wenn ja, wie viele?

- 1
- 2
- 3 oder mehr

IHRE ARBEIT

1. Wie lange arbeiten Sie schon bei dieser Firma?

2. Wie lang ist Ihre bezahlte Arbeitswoche, einschließlich der Mittagspause?

.....Stunden

3. Wie viele Überstunden machen Sie wöchentlich im Durchschnitt?

- Werden die Überstunden
- 1 bezahlt
 - 2 nicht bezahlt

4. Ihre Arbeitszeit:

- 1 arbeiten Sie feste Stunden
- 2 haben Sie gleitende Arbeitszeit
- 3 andere Möglichkeiten (bitte genau angeben)

5. Wie viele Stunden sind Sie werktags abwesend von zu Hause, einschließlich der Fahrt hin und zurück?

- 1 8 Stunden oder weniger
- 2 8-12 Stunden
- 3 mehr als 12 Stunden
- 4 unterschiedlich

6. Wenn Sie die Wahl hätten, was würden Sie lieber tun:

- 1 weniger verdienen und mehr Freizeit haben
- 2 mehr verdienen und mehr arbeiten
- 3 Ihre gegenwärtige Situation behalten

7. Was war Ihr jährliches Bruttoeinkommen im Jahre 1986-87?

ARBEIT UND MODELLE DER FREIZEITAKTIVITÄTEN AM ARBEITSPLATZ

8. Welches der folgenden Modelle ähnelt am meisten Ihrer gegenwärtigen Situation?

1. ⁰⁹⁰⁰⁻⁰⁹⁰⁰ ¹²³⁰⁻¹³³⁰
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|--------|---------------|--------|---------|--------|
| ARBEIT | P
15 | ARBEIT | MITTAGS-PAUSE | ARBEIT | P
15 | ARBEIT |
|--------|---------|--------|---------------|--------|---------|--------|
2. ⁰⁷⁰⁰⁻⁰⁹⁰⁰ ¹³⁰⁰⁻²⁰⁰⁰
- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | P | A | P | A | P | A | P | A | P | A | P | A |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
3. ⁰⁷⁰⁰⁻⁰⁸³⁰ ¹³⁰⁰⁻²⁰⁰⁰
- | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------|
| ARBEIT | MITTAGS-PAUSE | ARBEIT |
|--------|---------------|--------|
4. ⁰⁸⁰⁰⁻⁰⁹⁰⁰ ¹³⁰⁰⁻²⁰⁰⁰
- | |
|--------|
| ARBEIT |
|--------|
5. ⁰⁷⁰⁰⁻⁰⁸³⁰ ¹³⁰⁰⁻¹⁴⁰⁰
- | |
|--------|
| ARBEIT |
|--------|

9. Um wieviel Uhr fangen Sie normalerweise mit der Arbeit an?

Um wieviel Uhr hören Sie gewöhnlich auf?

10. Wenn Sie die Wahl hätten, welches der obengenannten Modelle (Frage 8) würden Sie bevorzugen?

1 2 3 4 5

11. Wenn es während des Werktages eine kurze Unterbrechung gibt und Sie nicht viel zu tun haben, was machen Sie meistens?

- 1 nichts
- 2 mit Mitarbeitern reden
- 3 telefonieren
- 4 eine Pause außerhalb des Büros machen
- 5 eine Pause im Büro machen
- 6 andere Arbeit finden
- 7 anderes (genau angeben):

12. Wie lange dauert offiziell Ihre Mittagspause?

.....Minuten

13. Wie lange dauert wirklich Ihre Mittagspause?

.....Minuten

14. Meinen Sie, daß Ihre Mittagspause meistens:

- 1 zu lang ist
- 2 lang genug ist
- 3 zu kurz ist
- 4 viel zu kurz ist
- 5 nicht existiert

15. Von zu Hause aus arbeiten wird immer beliebter. Was meinen Sie dazu?
Würden Sie gern von zu Hause aus arbeiten, z.B. mit einem Computer, der mit einem zentralen Büro verbunden ist? Wenn Sie die Wahl hätten, was würden Sie lieber tun?

- 1 von zu Hause aus arbeiten
- 2 in einem Büro arbeiten
- 3 anderes (genau angeben)

Schreiben Sie bitte die Gründe für Ihre Wahl.

16. Was sind für Sie die wichtigsten Vorteile der Arbeit außerhalb des Hauses?

- 1 ich genieße den Kontakt mit Mitarbeitern am Arbeitsplatz
- 2 ich komme dadurch aus dem Haus
- 3 ich komme dadurch weg von meiner Familie
- 4 es gibt bessere Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten
- 5 anderes (genau angeben):

17. Was sind für Sie die wichtigsten Nachteile der Arbeit außerhalb des Hauses?

- 1 die Dauer der Fahrt ins Büro und zurück
- 2 die Kosten der Fahrt
- 3 ich sehe meine Familie weniger, als ich möchte
- 4 meine Arbeit wird zu viel kontrolliert
- 5 ich habe am Arbeitsplatz zu wenig individuelle Freiheit
- 6 es gibt zu wenig Freizeit nach der Arbeit
- 7 es gibt zu viele Unterbrechungen durch meine Mitarbeiter
- 8 anderes (genau angeben):

18. Wie wichtig ist der Arbeitsplatz als ein Ort, wo Sie Leute treffen können?

- 1 wichtig, um Leute im allgemeinen treffen zu können
- 2 wichtig, um mögliche Ehepartner treffen zu können
- 3 unwichtig als ein Ort, wo Leute im allgemeinen zu treffen sind
- 4 unwichtig als ein Ort, wo mögliche Ehepartner zu treffen sind

19. Fühlen Sie sich am Arbeitsplatz 'zu Hause'?

- 1 ja
- 2 nein

Sind Sie im allgemeinen glücklicher:

- 1 zu Hause
- 2 am Arbeitsplatz

20. Hier sind einige Feststellungen über die Arbeit und die Arbeitsbedingungen. Zeigen Sie, was Sie bevorzugen, indem Sie die entsprechenden Ziffern umkreisen:

CODE: 1 - ich möchte 2 - ich möchte nicht

- | | | |
|----|---|------------------------|
| 1 | mehr Entscheidungen am Arbeitsplatz treffen als jetzt | 1 2 |
| 2 | weniger kontrolliert werden | 1 2 |
| 3 | kürzere Arbeitszeit haben | 1 2 |
| 4 | die Möglichkeit haben, mich nach der Mittagspause zu entspannen | 1 2 |
| 5 | mehr Pausen während des Werktages haben | 1 2 |
| 6 | einen viel kürzeren Arbeitsweg haben | 1 2 |
| 7 | von zu Hause aus arbeiten | 1 2 |
| 8 | in einem freundlicheren Büro arbeiten | 1 2 |
| 9 | selbst entscheiden dürfen, wann ich arbeite | 1 2 |
| 10 | mehr Geld verdienen | 1 2 |
| 11 | am Arbeitsplatz mehr Entscheidungen über meine eigene Arbeit treffen können | 1 2 |
| 12 | arbeiten, um meine Freizeit zu genießen | 1 2 |
| 13 | eine angenehme Atmosphäre im Büro haben | 1 2 |
| 14 | außerhalb des Hauses arbeiten, um von meiner Familie wegzukommen | 1 2 |
| 15 | viel weniger Unterbrechungen durch Kollegen haben | 1 2 |
| 16 | konzentrierter arbeiten, so daß ich früher nach Hause gehen kann | 1 2 |
| 17 | am Arbeitsplatz eine fremde Sprache lernen (Sprache angeben): | 1 2 |

21. Wenn Sie die Wahl hätten, welche der folgenden Kombinationen wären Ihnen am liebsten?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | mehr Zeit für die Arbeit und weniger Zeit für die gesellschaftlichen Kontakte am Arbeitsplatz |
| 2 | mehr Zeit für die gesellschaftlichen Kontakte und weniger Zeit für die Arbeit |
| 3 | soviel Zeit für die Arbeit und gesellschaftliche Kontakte, wie ich jetzt habe |
| 4 | konzentrierter arbeiten, so daß ich früher nach Hause gehen kann |

FREIZEITAKTIVITÄTEN AM ARBEITSPLATZ

22. Ich interessiere mich für die Aktivitäten am Arbeitsplatz, die 'Freizeitaktivitäten' genannt werden könnten. Ergänzen Sie bitte die folgende Tabelle.

Spalte 1: Schreiben Sie wieviele Minuten Sie im allgemeinen für die einzelnen Aktivitäten brauchen.

Spalte 2: Schreiben Sie den Buchstaben, der zeigt, wo Sie die Aktivität meistens ausüben.

CODE: S = an Ihrem Schreibtisch
B = in Ihrem Büro
K = in der Kantine
R = Restaurant außerhalb des Büros
A = anderes (genau angeben):

Spalte 3: Schreiben Sie den Buchstaben, der zeigt, was die Aktivität für Sie bedeutet.

CODE: M = Muße (oder Freizeitaktivität)
A = Arbeit
L = etwas, die die Langeweile mildert
F = Familienpflicht
R = Rebellion oder Aggression
U = ärgerliche Unterbrechung

NB: Für einige Aktivitäten werden Sie vielleicht zwei Antworten geben wollen. Zum Beispiel: wenn Sie Kaffee sowohl im Büro als auch in der Kantine trinken, schreiben Sie bitte B/K in der 2. Spalte.

1	2	3	AKTIVITÄTEN
			1 lesen
			2 mit Mitarbeitern reden
			3 Kaffee/Tee trinken
			4 Kleinigkeiten essen (außerhalb der Mittagspause)
			5 telefonieren
			6 nichts tun
			7 träumen
			8 schlafen
			9 Sport treiben: (Sport angeben):
			10 Mitglied in einer firmeninternen Organisation u/od. in einem Verein (Aktivität angeben):
			11 Teilnahme an gesellschaftlichen Ereignissen am Arbeitsplatz (Aktivität angeben):
			12 mit Mitarbeitern flirten
			13 einkaufen
			14 Karten spielen (od. anderes Spiel)
			15 rauchen
			16 eine fremde Sprachen lernen (Sprache angeben):
			17 anderes (genau angeben):

23. Unter den obengenannten Aktivitäten welche drei machen Sie am liebsten?

- 1
- 2
- 3

24. Diese Umfrage wird auch von Angestellten in Firmen in Japan, England und Frankreich beantwortet. Sagen Sie bitte, welches Land am besten den folgenden Feststellungen entspricht. Schreiben Sie: die Bundesrepublik; England; Frankreich oder Japan. Jedes Land nur einmal notieren, bitte!

1. In diesem Land nehmen Angestellte sich viel Zeit für Freizeitaktivitäten am Arbeitsplatz. Das heißt: sie haben viele Pausen während des Werktages.

2. In diesem Land arbeiten Angestellte lange Stunden mit wenigen Pausen. Es gibt nicht sehr viele Freizeitaktivitäten am Arbeitsplatz.

3. In diesem Land sind die Arbeitsbedingungen, z.B. Gehalt, Stunden, besondere Vergünstigungen sehr gut. Es gibt sehr oft die Möglichkeit, Freizeitaktivitäten am Arbeitsplatz auszuüben.

4. In diesem Land sind die Gehälter ganz gut aber die Arbeitsbedingungen sind nicht so gut. Die Arbeitsstunden sind lang und es gibt nicht sehr viele Vergünstigungen.

25. Wie lange hat es gedauert, diesen Fragebogen auszufüllen?

.....Minuten

Bitte weitere Informationen am Ende des Fragebogens notieren.

Ich bedanke mich für Ihre Hilfe

Jennifer Fell

ASTON UNIVERSITY



MODERN LANGUAGES

Head: Professor F E Knowles MA MSc

Madame, Monsieur,

Vous trouverez ci-joint un questionnaire auquel je vous serai très reconnaissante de bien vouloir répondre. Ces questions sont posées dans le cadre d'une étude dont le but est de mieux connaître l'évolution des valeurs et des attitudes des employés envers le travail et le loisir au Japon et en Europe Occidentale.

Les données de ces questionnaires remplis par des employés dans des entreprises en Angleterre, en France, dans la RFA et au Japon seront analysées pour une thèse de doctorat à l'Université d'Aston, Birmingham, Angleterre.

Toutes les réponses sont complètement confidentielles car elles me seront renvoyées directement. Veuillez bien renvoyer votre questionnaire avant le 10 mars 1988 dans l'enveloppe ci-jointe.

Des précisions supplémentaires seront bienvenues.

Je vous remercie d'avoir bien voulu me consacrer de votre temps en participant à cette étude.

Jennifer Fell

Fevrier 1988

Projet portant sur les attitudes envers le loisir et le travail en Angleterre, en France, dans la RFA et au Japon.

Introduction

MOI - LE CHERCHEUR

Je m'appelle Jennifer Fell et j'ai 29 ans. Pendant les dix dernières années j'ai habité, étudié et travaillé dans chacun des pays mentionnés ci-dessus. Ce que j'ai remarqué en ce qui concerne les effets des différents modèles et attitudes sur la satisfaction du travail et l'efficacité des employés sur le lieu de travail et sur la vie en général m'a inspirée à faire des recherches sur ces phénomènes.

Les buts de cette étude sont les suivants: identifier et comparer différents modèles et attitudes envers le travail dans ces quatre pays et souligner les aspects des modèles et attitudes qui pourraient profiter réciproquement à ces pays. Cette recherche sera utilisée pour une thèse de doctorat.

Je vous prie de noter le temps qu'il vous faut pour remplir ce questionnaire. La dernière question vous demande d'écrire le temps qu'il vous a fallu. Dans le cas où vous aimeriez avoir une copie des résultats de ce projet, envoyez, s'il vous plaît, l'enveloppe ci-jointe adressée à vous-même.

Pour répondre à la plupart des questions il ne faut qu'encercler le numéro qui s'applique à votre cas. Par exemple:

Etes-vous:

- ①. Français(e)
2. Anglais(e)
3. Allemand(e)

Il serait utile si vous pouviez ajouter des informations supplémentaires à la dernière page de ce questionnaire.

VOUS - LE/LA REpondant(E)

Etes-vous: (encerclez le numéro qui convient)

- 1 employé(e)
- 2 cadre moyen
- 3 cadre supérieur
- 4 directeur
- 5 autre (préciser:)

Quel est l'année de votre naissance?

Quel est votre sexe?

1 F 2 M

Avez-vous des diplômes de fin d'études?

1 oui 2 non

Si oui, quel est le diplôme le plus élevé que vous avez obtenu?

- 1 certificat d'études
- 2 certificat d'aptitude professionnelle
- 3 brevet élémentaire
- 4 baccalauréat
- 5 diplôme d'études supérieures: préciser:
- 6 autre (préciser:

Habitez-vous:

- 1 seul(e)
- 2 avec votre epoux(se) ou avec une autre personne

Avez-vous des enfants?

1 oui 2 non

Si oui, combien?

- 1
- 2
- 3 ou plus

VOTRE TRAVAIL

1. Depuis quand travaillez-vous dans cette entreprise?

2. Quelle est la durée hebdomadaire de votre travail rémunéré, y compris la pause de midi?

.....heures

3. Combien faites-vous d'heures supplémentaires par semaine en général?

.....heures

Ces heures supplémentaires sont-elles:

- 1 payées 2 pas payées

4. Avez-vous des heures flexibles, c'est-à-dire, est-ce que vous pouvez choisir quand vous commencez et terminez le travail?

- 1 oui
- 2 non
- 3 autre (préciser: _____)

5. Quelle est la durée quotidienne de votre absence du domicile (y compris les trajets)?

- 1 8 heures ou moins
- 2 de 8 à 12 heures
- 3 plus de 12 heures
- 4 variable

6. Si l'on vous donnait le choix aimeriez-vous mieux:

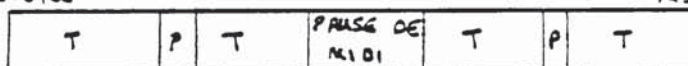
- 1 avoir plus de temps libre en gagnant moins
- 2 travailler plus et gagner plus
- 3 votre situation actuelle

7. En 1986-87 quel a été approximativement votre revenu annuel brut?

LES MODELES DE TRAVAIL ET DE LOISIR SUR LE LIEU DE TRAVAIL

8. Lequel des modèles de travail suivants ressemble le plus à votre situation actuelle? CODE: T = travail P = pause.

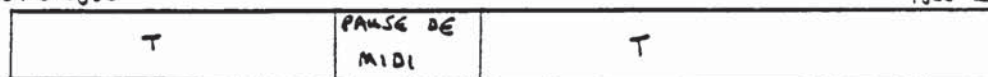
1. 0700-0900 1330-1530



2. 0700-0900 1900-2000



3. 0900-0930 1900-2200



4. 0800-0900 1900-2000



5. 0700-0930 1300-1600



9. En général, à quelle heure votre travail commence-t-il?

En général, à quelle heure votre travail finit-il?

10. Si l'on vous donnait le choix, lequel des modèles de travail présentés (question 8) préféreriez-vous?

1 2 3 4 5

11. Dans le cas où il y a une pause pendant votre journée de travail que faites-vous généralement?

- 1 rien faire
- 2 bavarder avec des collègues
- 3 téléphoner
- 4 prendre une pause au dehors du bureau
- 5 prendre une pause au bureau
- 6 trouver un autre travail à faire
- 7 autre (préciser:)

12. Combien de temps avez-vous officiellement pour votre pause de midi?

.....minutes

13. En réalité combien de temps avez-vous d'habitude pour votre pause de midi?

.....minutes

14. Est-ce que votre pause de midi est:

- 1 trop longue
- 2 assez longue
- 3 trop courte
- 4 beaucoup trop courte
- 5 inexistante

15. Il devient de plus en plus courant de faire son travail rémunéré à partir de son domicile. Aimerez-vous travailler au domicile, par exemple, avec un ordinateur qui est lié au siège central d'une entreprise? Si l'on vous donnait le choix qu'est-ce que vous aimeriez faire?

- 1 travailler au domicile
- 2 travailler dans un bureau
- 3 autre (préciser:)

Veillez donner des raisons pour votre choix.

16. Quels sont pour vous les avantages les plus importants du travail dans un bureau?

- 1 la possibilité de rencontrer des gens sur le lieu de travail
- 2 il me permet de sortir de la maison
- 3 il me permet de m'éloigner de ma famille
- 4 il y a de meilleures chances de promotion
- 5 autre (préciser:)

17. Quels sont pour vous les désavantages les plus importants du travail dans un bureau?

- 1 le temps du trajet
- 2 le coût du trajet
- 3 je vois ma famille moins que je ne le voudrais
- 4 il y a plus de surveillance de mon travail que je ne le voudrais
- 5 le manque de liberté personnelle sur le lieu de travail
- 6 il y a trop peu de temps pour le loisir après le travail
- 7 trop d'interruptions de la part de mes collègues
- 8 autre (préciser: _____)

18. Voici des constatations sur le travail et les conditions du travail. Encerclez un numéro pour chaque constatation pour indiquer vos préférences.

CODE: 1 = j'ai envie de 2 = je n'ai pas envie de

- 1 prendre plus de décisions que je ne le fais en ce moment
1 2
- 2 avoir moins de surveillance
1 2
- 3 avoir des heures de travail plus courtes
1 2
- 4 avoir la possibilité de me reposer après le déjeuner
1 2
- 5 avoir plus de pauses pendant la journée
1 2
- 6 avoir un trajet beaucoup plus court
1 2
- 7 travailler chez moi
1 2
- 8 travailler dans un bureau où l'ambiance est plus agréable
1 2
- 9 avoir plus de choix en ce qui concerne les heures de travail
1 2
- 10 gagner plus d'argent
1 2
- 11 avoir plus de choix en ce qui concerne ce que je fais sur le lieu de travail
1 2
- 12 apprendre une langue étrangère sur le lieu de travail (préciser la langue: _____)
1 2
- 13 travailler dans le but de bien profiter de mon temps libre
1 2
- 14 travailler au dehors de la maison pour m'éloigner de ma famille
1 2
- 15 avoir moins d'interruptions de la part de mes collègues
1 2
- 16 travailler d'une façon plus concentrée et rentrer plus tôt
1 2
- 17 maintenir une séparation entre ce qui est du loisir et ce qui est du travail
1 2
- 18 avoir du loisir et du travail qui s'entremêlent
1 2

LES ACTIVITES DE LOISIR SUR LE LIEU DE TRAVAIL

19. Je voudrais savoir plus sur les activités sur le lieu de travail que vous considérez comme du loisir. Remplissez s'il vous plaît le tableau suivant.

Colonne 1: Consultez la liste d'activités et écrivez dans la première colonne le nombre de minutes que vous prenez par jour en moyenne pour faire chacune des activités sur le lieu de travail.

Colonne 2: Dans la deuxième colonne indiquez où vous pratiquez les activités d'habitude.

CODE:

B = au le bureau
C = à la cantine
R = dans un restaurant au dehors du lieu de travail
A = autre (préciser dans la case correspondante)

Colonne 3: Dans la troisième colonne écrivez la lettre qui décrit le mieux ce que l'activité représente pour vous.

CODE:

L = loisir
T = travail
E = moyen d'éviter le travail
F = obligation familiale
P = acte de protestation
IN = interruption agaçante

Des combinaisons sont possibles. Par exemple, si les coups de téléphone personnels sont une obligation familiale et du loisir pour vous, écrivez donc F/L dans la troisième colonne.

1	2	3	ACTIVITES
			1 lire
			2 bavarder avec des collègues
			3 boire du thé/café en dehors de la pause de midi
			4 manger en dehors de la pause de midi
			5 passer des coups de téléphone personnels
			6 rien faire
			7 rêver
			8- sommeiller
			9 pratiquer un sport: (préciser le sport:
			10 participer dans des activités d'une association ou d'un club dans l'entreprise: (préciser l'activité:
			11 participer dans des activités sociales organisées par l'entreprise: (préciser l'activité:
			12 flirter avec des collègues ou clients
			13 faire des courses
			14 jouer aux cartes(ou autre jeu)
			15 fumer
			16 apprendre une langue étrangère (préciser la langue:
			17 autre (préciser:

20. Parmi les activités ci-dessus (question 19) quelles sont les trois que vous aimez faire le plus?

- 1
- 2
- 3

21. Quelle importance votre lieu de travail a-t-il comme endroit pour rencontrer d'autres personnes?

- 1 il est important pour pouvoir rencontrer d'autres personnes
- 2 il est important pour pouvoir rencontrer un partenaire éventuel (mariage)
- 3 il n'est pas important pour pouvoir rencontrer d'autres personnes
- 4 il n'est pas important pour pouvoir rencontrer un partenaire éventuel

22. Est-ce que vous vous sentez 'chez vous' sur votre lieu de travail?

- 1 oui 2 non

En général, est-ce que vous êtes plus content(e):

- 1 chez vous
- 2 sur le lieu de travail

23. Si l'on vous donnait le choix laquelle des situations suivantes préféreriez-vous?

- 1 consacrer moins de temps à la sociabilité et plus de temps au travail sur le lieu de travail
- 2 consacrer moins de temps au travail et plus de temps à la sociabilité
- 3 consacrer le même temps au travail et à la sociabilité qu'actuellement
- 4 travailler de façon plus concentrée pour que je puisse rentrer plus tôt chez moi

24. Ce questionnaire a été distribué aussi dans des entreprises comme la vôtre au Japon, dans la RFA et en Angleterre. Indiquez s'il vous plaît quel pays correspond le plus à chacune des constatations suivantes. Ecrivez France, Angleterre, la RFA ou Japon dans les cases. Ecrivez le nom de chaque pays seulement une fois.

- 1 Les employés dans ce pays passent beaucoup de temps à pratiquer des activités de type loisir sur le lieu de travail. C'est-à-dire, on prend beaucoup de pauses pendant la journée de travail.

- 2 Les employés dans ce pays passent beaucoup d'heures sur le lieu de travail et ils prennent peu de pauses. Il y a très peu d'activités de type loisir sur le lieu de travail.

- 3 Les conditions de travail, par exemple, les salaires, les heures de travail, les primes, etc. sont très avantageuses dans ce pays. Il y a beaucoup de possibilités pour les activités de type loisir sur le lieu de travail.

- 4 Le niveau des salaires est assez élevé dans ce pays mais les conditions ne sont pas très avantageuses. Par exemple, les heures de travail sont longues et il n'y a pas beaucoup de primes.

25. Combien de temps vous a-t-il fallu pour remplir ce questionnaire?

.....minutes

Si vous avez des remarques supplémentaires écrivez-les ci-dessous, s'il vous plaît.

Je vous remercie cordialement de votre aide.

Jennifer Fell

ASTON UNIVERSITY



MODERN LANGUAGES

Head: Professor F E Knowles MA MSc

余暇と労働に対する考え方の調査

(イギリス、フランス、西ドイツ、日本、各国の雇用労働者による)

調査者について

私の名はジェニファー・フェル。過去10年間を上記の各国において暮し、学び、働いた経験があります。その間、労働への姿勢の違いが、労働における充足感や能率、また生活全般についての満足感に異なる影響を与えていることを観察したものでこの問題を研究のテーマとしました。

研究の目的は4ヵ国の労働に対するパターン、態度の相違を比較し、相互に利益のある点にスポットを当てようというものです。この調査は私の博士論文の資料としてもちいます。

皆様が質問表に書き入れるのに時間を割いて下さることを感謝します。この調査の結果を知りたい方は同封の返信切手つき封筒にご住所を記入してお送り下されば、後日お知らせいたします。なお質問への答えは内密に取り扱います。またこの調査は公の組織とは無関係です。

殆どの質問へは適当な番号に丸をつけることでこたえられます。

例えば：あなたは？

1. イギリス人 2. フランス人 3. 西ドイツ人 ④. 日本人

各質問の余白にコメント、又はご意見を書き加えて頂ければありがたいと思います。

—あなた自身についてお尋ねします—

F 1. あなたの仕事上の職務は次のどれですか？

1. 非管理職
2. 中間管理職（課長職、次長職相当程度）
3. 上級管理職（部長職相当程度）
4. 役員以上
5. その他（具体的に： _____）

F 2. あなたの生年月日は？

（記入） 19 ____ 年 ____ 月 ____ 日

310

Aston Triangle, Birmingham B4 7ET. Telephone 021-359 3611. Telex 336997 UNIAST G. Fax 021-359 7358.
Electronic Mail MODERNLANG@UK.AC.ASTON.MAIL

F 3. あなたの性別は？

1. 女性
2. 男性

F 4. あなたの最終学歴は（旧制卒業の場合は新制換算でお答え下さい）？

1. 中学校卒業
2. 高等学校卒業
3. 短大または専門学校卒業
4. 大学卒業
5. 修士、博士号（または同等の学位）保有
6. その他（具体的に： _____）

F 5. 居住の状況は？

1. 一人住まいである
2. 配偶者などと同居している

F 6. 子供さんは？

1. いる（SF1へ）
2. いない（Q1へ）

SF1. （子供がいる場合）何人ですか？

1. 1人
2. 2人
3. 3人以上

－仕事についてお尋ねします－

Q 1. 現在の会社で何年位働いていますか？

（記入） _____ 年間

Q 2. 就業時間は週何時間ですか（昼休みを含む、規約上の拘束時間です）？

（記入）週 _____ 時間

Q 3. 残業は週平均で何時間程度ですか？

(記入) 週 _____ 時間

S Q 1. 残業手当は支給されますか？

1. 支給される
2. 支給されない

Q 4. 就業時間は一定ですか？

1. 一定
2. 不定 (フレックス・タイムなど)
3. その他 (具体的に: _____)

Q 5. 平日で家を離れている時間は平均どれ位ですか (通勤時間を含みます)？

1. 8時間未満
2. 8 - 12時間
3. 12時間以上
4. 非常に大きく変わり、平均できない

Q 6. もし労働環境を選べるとしたら、次のどれが好ましいとお考えですか？

1. 所得が下がってももっと自由時間が欲しい
2. もっと働いてもいまよりも高い所得が欲しい
3. 現状でよい

Q 7. 昨年 (1987年) の総収入はどの程度でしたか？

(記入) 約 _____ 万円

 - 就業時の労働と休息について -

Q 8. 次のどのパターンが現在の実際の就業状況に一番近いですか？

1. 08:00-09:00

17:30-18:30

仕事	休	仕事	昼休	仕事	休	仕事
----	---	----	----	----	---	----

2. 07:00-08:00

18:00-20:00

仕事	休	仕事	休	仕事	休	仕事	休	仕事	休	仕事
----	---	----	---	----	---	----	---	----	---	----

3. 07:00-08:30

18:00-22:00

仕事	昼休	仕事
----	----	----

4. 08:00-09:00

18:00-20:00

仕事

5. 07:00-08:30

13:00-14:00

仕事

Q 9. 通常の始業・終業の時間についてお答えください

(記入) 始業は _____ 時

終業は _____ 時

Q 10. もし就業状況を選べるとしたら、上の (Q 8 の) 5 つのパターンのどれが
 好ましいとお考えですか？

(記入) パターン _____ 番

Q 11. もし勤務中に空き時間ができたら、いつもどのような事をしますか。次の中から選んで下さい。

1. なにもしない
2. 同僚と雑談をする
3. 電話で雑談をする
4. 社外に出て休憩する
5. 社内で休憩する
6. 他の仕事をさがす
7. その他（具体的に： _____）

Q 12. 労働規約などでの正式な昼休みは何分間ですか？

（記入） _____ 分間

Q 13. 実際には、通常何分間程度の昼休みを取りますか？

（記入） _____ 分間

Q 14. 昼休みの時間の長さをどう思われますか？

1. 長すぎる
2. ちょうど良い
3. 短かすぎる
4. 非常に短い
5. 昼休みはない

Q 15. 在宅勤務が徐々に普及してきています。例えば、本社とつながったコンピュータを使つての在宅勤務などについてどのようにお考えですか。

1. 在宅勤務をしたい
2. 出社して仕事をしたい
3. その他（具体的に： _____）

（記入）上のいずれかを選ばれた理由をお答え下さい。

（ _____

）

Q 16. 出社して仕事をする事の主な利点はどのようなものとお考えですか？

1. 同僚との付き合いが楽しい
2. 自宅から離れられる
3. 家族から離れられる
4. 昇進に有利である
5. その他（具体的に：

)

Q 17. 出社して仕事をすることの不利な点はどのようなものとお考えですか？

1. 通勤時間がかかる
2. 通勤費用がかかる
3. 家族と一緒にいる時間が思うようにとれない
4. 上司の監督がうるさい
5. 仕事上の自由が狭められる
6. 終業後の余暇時間がほとんどとれない
7. 同僚に仕事を中断されることが多すぎる
8. その他（具体的に：

9

Q 18. 職場は、人と出会う場としてどの程度重要なものとお考えですか？

1. 一般に人と出会う場として重要である
2. 結婚相手を探す場として重要である
3. 人と出会う場としては重要ではない
4. 結婚相手を探す場としては重要ではない

Q 19. 下に、仕事の内容や環境に関連する意見があります。それぞれについての賛否をお答え下さい。

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|-----------|
| 1. 現在よりも大きな決定権を持ちたい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 2. あまり管理されたくない | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 3. 労働時間を短くしたい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 4. 昼食後ゆっくり休憩したい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 5. もっと工作中的の休憩時間がほしい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 6. もっと通勤距離を短くしたい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 7. 在宅勤務がしたい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 8. なごやかな雰囲気の仕事がしたい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 9. 就業時間を自分で選びたい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 10. もっと高い所得がほしい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 11. 仕事の内容を選べるようにしたい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 12. 仕事をしながら外国語を覚えたい (何語か具体的に:) | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 13. 自由時間を楽しむために働きたい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 14. 家族から離れるために会社に行きたい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 15. 同僚から仕事の邪魔をされたくない | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 16. 集中的に仕事をして、早く帰宅したい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 17. 仕事と余暇とをはっきりと区別したい | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |
| 18. 仕事と余暇とは切りはなせない | (1. 賛成 | 2. 賛成しない) |

Q 20. 職場で「くつろいでいる」と感じますか?

1. 感じる
2. 感じない

S Q 1. 自宅にいるのと職場にいるのとではどちらが充足感がありますか。

1. 自宅
2. 職場

－職場での息抜きについて－

Q 21. 職場での息抜きや「レジャー」とでも呼べるような活動についてうかがいます。表の中の活動に対して、3つのことを記入して下さい。

〔第一列〕：通常の平日に何分程度をその活動に費やしますか。（数字記入）

〔第二列〕：その活動をどこで行いますか。（記号選択）

（記号）：机周辺＝D、オフィス＝O、社員食堂＝C、

社外の飲食店など＝R、その他＝A（具体的に補足記入）

〔第三列〕：その活動はどう呼ぶのが適当ですか。（記号選択）

（記号）：レジャー＝L、仕事＝W、退屈しのぎ＝B、

家族の用事＝F、反抗・抵抗＝S、人の邪魔＝IN

◎複数の場所、性格が該当するときには、記号を複数記入して下さい。オフィスでも食堂でもコーヒーを飲むときには、O/Cのようにして下さい。

活動	消費時間	活動場所	活動の性格	その他
	(分)	(記号)	(記号)	
1. 読書	_____	_____	_____	
2. 同僚との雑談	_____	_____	_____	
3. お茶・コーヒー	_____	_____	_____	昼食時を除く
4. おやつ・軽食	_____	_____	_____	昼食時を除く
5. 電話で雑談	_____	_____	_____	
6. なにもしない	_____	_____	_____	
7. 空想にふける	_____	_____	_____	
8. 昼寝	_____	_____	_____	
9. スポーツ	_____	_____	_____	具体的に：
10. 社員クラブなど	_____	_____	_____	具体的に：
11. 会社の行事	_____	_____	_____	
12. 同僚や客と飲む	_____	_____	_____	
13. 買物	_____	_____	_____	
14. トランプやゲーム	_____	_____	_____	
15. 喫煙	_____	_____	_____	
16. 外国語学習	_____	_____	_____	何語を：
17. その他	_____	_____	_____	

Q 22. Q 21 の中で好きな活動を 3 つあげるとしたらどれですか？

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Q 23. もし選べるとしたら、次のどれを選びますか？

1. 付き合いの時間を減らしてもっと働く
2. 働く時間を減らしてもっと付き合いの時間を増やす
3. いまのバランスを変えない
4. もっと集中的に働き、帰宅を早くする

Q 24. このアンケートは、ほぼ同程度の企業環境にある日・英・仏・西独の会社員に対しても行われています。下記の 1～4 の記述はどこの国のものか、もっとも近いと思われる国の名前を記入して下さい（重複はありません）。

1. この国では、職場でのレジャーに非常に多くの時間が割かれています。言い替えば、一日のうちに何度も休憩時間がとられています。

国名： _____

2. この国では、長時間、わずかの休憩時間で働きます。職場でのレジャー活動は殆どありません。

国名： _____

3. この国では、給与・労働時間・福利厚生などの労働条件に恵まれています。職場でのレジャー活動の機会も数多くあります。

国名： _____

4. この国では、給与はかなり良いのですが、労働条件は余りよくありません。例えば、労働時間は長く、福利厚生も整っていません。

国名： _____

Q 25. この質問表に記入するのにどれくらいの時間がかかりましたか？

(記入) _____ 分間

質問は以上です。もし、ご意見・コメントがありましたら、以下の余白にご記入下さい。ご協力ありがとうございました。

ジュニファー・フェル (Jennifer Fell)